

MID-AMERICA

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Campaign Issues and Popular Mandates in 1864

"The canvass for the Presidential election is opening," wrote Secretary of State William Seward early in 1864. "That election will probably be the first one held in forty years in which slavery will have been held by all parties as unworthy of political defense."¹ It was true that slavery was no longer considered worthy of defense by a large group in both parties, but there were many who did not accept as irrevocable the course which was charted on January 1, 1863. Slavery may have been dead, in the opinion of many, but it was certainly not interred. There were still some who looked upon emancipation as a tragic error and the main course for the prolongation of the war. Slavery, therefore, was still discussed in the election canvass, and it became an important issue.

For those who no longer regarded slavery as a signal issue there were new ones which had risen to fill the void. At the beginning of the election year the war was yet to be won; the Confederacy seemed still to possess unexpected capacities for survival. The incomparable Lee was fending off Yankee columns with his accustomed ease, and Lincoln was about to begin the third year of his yet fruitless quest for a man of sufficient courage, ruthlessness, and genius to pit against the champion.

Though the war was still to be won, many were looking ahead to the peace. There were the problems of the freedmen, the South, and the new northern capitalistic society emerging as a result of the war, which had to be considered. By autumn the military balance seemed to shift at long last irretrievably in favor of the North, and

¹ Frederick W. Seward, *Seward at Washington as Senator and Secretary of State*, New York, 1891, III, 209.

everyone knew the year of decision to be at hand. The war was drawing to a close, and thinking men knew that the problems of the Negro, reconstruction, and industrialization would be upon Congress and the people. Though these portents loomed menacingly, they played a minor role in the political canvass of 1864. Emotionalism was the order of the day.

The Democrats, whose defection cost them the coveted office in 1860, were rebounding into the canvass of 1864 with a renewed vigor which had been whetted by their triumphs of 1862. Ultimately the Democrats' challenge was turned back by a happy combination of circumstances. To meet the Democratic issues which centered about war weariness, violations of civil liberties, and the personal shortcomings of "The indecent Joker," the Union party relied primarily upon the device of unfettered emotionalism.

The Unionists used the issue of domestic treason as their greatest weapon. Evidence of Democratic perfidy, Democratic treason, Democratic conspiracies, was unearthed, disclosed, and repeated into the ears and minds of audiences and readers until the public was nearly stupefied. The Unionists built their entire campaign around this one issue.

The single issue of domestic treason, however extensively it was utilized, would probably not have turned back the challenge of the Democratic party had it not been for two other factors which were present during the canvass. The war weariness which hung like a pall over the country during the summer of 1864 because of Grant's failures in Virginia, dissipated after September first in view of the military achievements of William Sherman, Philip Sheridan, and David Farragut. Lincoln's popularity, which for a few short weeks seemed to have almost vanished, was revived by the change of military events. The other element transcended both the treason issue and the military victories. It was to be found in the personality of the president: a man who had captured the imagination of the rank and file of American voters as no one else. It was the personal popularity of the candidate and the timely achievements of the Federal army which gave the election of 1864 to the Union party by a rather narrow margin.

Yet there was also a battle of words as each side sought to garner votes by introducing issues into the campaign. It is the purpose of this paper to explore the issues which were introduced most extensively by both parties.

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The Democrats held their national convention late in August, and at the meeting the peace wing (Copperhead) of the party succeeded in gaining control of the deliberations and wrote a peace plank into the platform. It was the so-called "War failure" plank which gave the Union party an opportunity to exploit the issue of domestic treason.

The treason issue was by no means a new one. It had been thoroughly exploited and discussed before, but it was conveniently reintroduced during the presidential election. Prior to the Democratic convention at Chicago the accusations of treason remained rather general, but after the convention adopted a peace platform there were more definite points against which an attack could be directed.

The charges which the Unionists hurled at the convention and platform centered around four lines of attack. The first accusation was rather general and consisted of characterizing as treasonable all the speeches, deliberations, and activities of the party's convention. "Treason to the government has for hours at a time cascaded over the balconies on our out of doors listeners and pedestrians," reported the *Chicago Tribune*. While Horace Greeley commented that each speaker "seemed to try his best to outdo the last in going to the furthest limits of treasonable speech." Every man at the convention was a "black hearted traitor," was the considered opinion of the *New York Times*.² Such sweeping accusations could hardly have swayed many of the electorate. More direct and specific charges of treason were marshalled to prevent a Democratic victory at the polls.

The second accusation directed against the Democrats was that their sympathy toward the Confederacy was apparent in their unwillingness to censure it in their platform. One Unionist organ cried, "It is a significant fact, too, that the speakers at the convention were men who have . . . been noted as rebel sympathizers. . . . It is likewise noticeable that not one word has been uttered in condemnation of the rebellion." In denouncing the proceedings at Chicago for failing to condemn the rebellion, the Unionists hastened to point out that there had been no hesitation in attacking the administration.

² *New York Tribune*, September 2, 1864; *Chicago Tribune*, August 31, 1864; *New York Times*, September 24, 1864 John Brough, *The Defenders of the Country and Its Enemies. The Chicago Platform Dissected*, Cincinnati, 1864, 8; Gerrit Smith, *Gerrit Smith on McClellan's Nomination and Acceptance*, Loyal Publication Society No. 63, New York, 14; William Zornow, "Treason as a Campaign Issue in the Re-election of Lincoln," *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, V (June, 1949), 358-363.

The *Philadelphia Press* commented on Seymour's keynote speech, "The speech made by Horatio Seymour [Governor of New York] . . . is characteristic of the man and his party—not one word in denunciation of the rebellion, but hundreds in hatred of the Union." Governor John Brough of Ohio explained the failure to condemn the rebellion by charging that "the leaders of the Chicago Convention were the aiders and abettors of the Southern men who brought the rebellion upon us, and have been their sympathizers from that time to the present."³

The third point of attack on the platform was the insistence that it had been actually written at the instigation of southern agents. In editorials and speeches the Unionists maintained that the Democratic leaders prior to the convention went to Niagara Falls to confer with rebel agents and from this meeting emerged the platform adopted at Chicago. A Boston reporter wrote on the opening day of the convention, "The tone of the Convention today renders it certain that the programme agreed to at Niagara Falls between the Southern envoys and leading Democrats will be adopted here." The *New York Tribune* insisted, "It [the platform] was concocted by Rebels in Richmond . . . was agreed to by disloyal politicians of the North in a conference with rebels at Niagara Falls—and was taken to Chicago and adopted by a convention expressly chosen to adopt it."⁴

The fourth point of attack consisted of insisting that the convention was merely a phase of well laid plans of some secret Democratic societies to rebel against the government. The party, some insisted, was prepared to take over the government by force if Lincoln was re-elected. The *Boston Daily Journal* examined the platform editorially and found it composed of "hard words" which threatened "armed resistance to the government . . . in a certain contingency." Others claimed that the Democrats hoped to see the Union broken. They are "ready to barter the integrity of the Union for the sake of political power," proclaimed the *New York Tribune*. "There were not twenty men in the Chicago convention who sincerely believed in the Union, or who made any demonstrations of regard for the Union

³ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, August 30, 1864; *New York Times*, September 7 and 10, 1864; *Philadelphia Press*, August 31, September 1, 1864; *New York Herald*, September 28, 1864; *New York Tribune*, October 24, 1864; *Boston Daily Journal*, August 30, September 29, 1864; Brough, *Defenders of the Country*, 8.

⁴ *Boston Daily Journal*, August 30, September 29, 1864; *New York Tribune*, September 7, 22, 23, 1864; *New York Times*, September 7 and 23, 1864.

that were not intended to swindle and deceive the people," trumpeted the *Philadelphia Press*.⁵

The Democrats were hard pressed to find a means of replying to such accusations. The defense of their party revolved mainly around protestations that the Democracy was not a disunion party, but one whose chief aim was the restoration of the union. "The paramount aim of the Democratic party is to restore the Union," insisted the *New York World*, and this theme was belabored in the press and on the stump alike.⁶

The Democrats apparently hoped to counter-balance their disadvantageous position on the treason issue by charges against the Unionists based on alleged violations of civil liberties. Placed on the defensive by the treason issue, the Democrats found it increasingly difficult to reply to these accusations. To complicate matters further the charges that the Democratic societies known as the Sons of Liberty and Knights of the Golden Circle were involved in treasonable enterprises were revived later in September. The Unionists' accusations of treason directed against the party convention and platform had been difficult to substantiate, but thanks to Governor Oliver P. Morton of Indiana they were soon able to present the voters with what appeared to be more tangible proof of Democratic perfidy.

There were several secret organizations in operation throughout the Northern states during the war years, and the most famous of these was the Sons of Liberty, an organization of men (mostly Democrats) who were often suspected of plotting against the government. Harrison Dodd, Grand Commander of the order in Indiana, hatched a scheme to liberate some Confederate prisoners at Camp Morton and to create a Northwest Confederacy. His friends learned of the plan and succeeded in preventing Dodd from carrying out his poorly conceived scheme before any overt act of treason could be committed. Nevertheless, Morton, who had kept track of Dodd's activities by means of several spies and turncoats, had him arrested early in September and charged him with treason.

⁵ *New York Tribune*, September 8, 1864; *Philadelphia Press*, September 9 and 23, 1864; *Boston Daily Journal*, September 15, 1864; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, September 18, 1864; *The Chicago Copperhead Convention*, Washington, 1864, 4; Charles Drake, *Speech of Charles D. Drake Delivered before the National Union Association at Cincinnati, October 1, 1864*, n. p. 1864, 15.

⁶ *New York World*, September 1, 2, 6, 27, 1864; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, September 2, 1864; *Boston Daily Journal*, September 19, 1864; Henry Clinton, *Speech of Henry L. Clinton of New York at Patchogue, Long Island, October 1, 1864*, n. d., n. p., 1, 20.

The treason trials at Indianapolis of Dodd and some of his associates never proved that the Democrats were in league with the southern rebels or that an overt act of treason had been committed, but through judicious editing, aspersions, and downright distortion of fact, Unionist editors, speakers, and politicians were able to form a link in the public mind between the forces of disunion, the Sons of Liberty, and the Democratic party. There seemed to be no doubt in the public mind that the Democrats were engaged in treasonable activities which threatened the safety of the Northern government.⁷

The message of Democratic perfidy was carried over the nation. The wavering were won to the cause. The apathy which had marked the canvass during the summer months gave way to a bustling activity, as voters turned out to hear stump orators haranguing about treason. Gustav Koerner, who was campaigning for Lincoln, wrote that it was useless to speak unless one chose as his text the time honored one of domestic treason. The audiences were loathe to listen to anything else.⁸ "The expose of the Sons of Liberty is tearing the ranks of the Democracy to flinders," wrote a Unionist in Indiana, "McClellan stock is not quoted at all. McDonald [gubernatorial nominee in Indiana] stock is fast going down."⁹ Edward Bates wrote in his diary that "Even matters of the gravest intrinsic importance are, just now, viewed and acted upon only in their relations to the pending elections—e.g., the prosecution of Dodd et al (*Sons of Liberty!*) in Inda."¹⁰ There could be no doubt that the Unionists were finding the Dodd trial an excellent bit of political capital.

The Dodd trial had no sooner ended when Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt issued a report on October 16 further exposing the activities of the secret societies. The Holt report served as a convenient device to keep the public aware of the nature and magnitude of the treason being committed by the Democratic party. A special edition was prepared and circulated as campaign propa-

⁷ The situation in Indiana may be studied in detail in Kenneth M. Stampp, "The Milligan Case and the Election in 1864 in Indiana," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXI (June, 1944), 41-58; William Zornow, "Indiana and the Election of 1864," *Indiana Magazine of History*, (March, 1949).

⁸ Gustav Koerner, *Memoir of Gustav Koerner, 1809-1896*, Cedar Rapids, 1909, II, 434-436.

⁹ W. H. Terrell to General Wilder, September 6, 1864, in Stampp, *loc. cit.*, 55.

¹⁰ Howard Beale, ed., *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866*, Washington, 1933, 422.

ganda.¹¹ "If there is a prudent, a thoughtful man in this country who thinks of voting for McClellan, we pray him to study the astounding testimony in the treason trial at Indianapolis," said the *New York Tribune*.¹²

Against this attack the Democrats had no defense and merely revealed their impotence by the billingsgate denunciation they poured upon the Unionists.¹³ In addition to the exposé of the activities of the Sons of Liberty in Indiana and Dodd's trial, other plots were revealed during the late summer to facilitate the Unionists' victories in the state and national canvass. The *Chicago Tribune* reported a plot to liberate six thousand prisoners from Camp Douglas near Chicago, and a spy testified that many prominent Democrats were involved in it. In Ohio a conspiracy led from Canada by John Y. Beall for the purpose of liberating some Confederate prisoners on Johnson's Island and capturing the *U. S. S. Michigan* on Lake Erie, was alleged to have been hatched by the Sons of Liberty and the Democrats. A rumor spread that Confederate agents were gathering in Canada to burn Detroit in the event that the Democrats lost the election.¹⁴

In addition to attacking the Democratic party as an organization and trying to stigmatize it as treasonable, the Unionists also directed some of their heaviest fire against the two nominees George McClellan and George Pendleton. There was an oft repeated rumor that McClellan had visited Lee shortly before the battle of Antietam. Some insisted that he had been volunteering his services to the Confederacy. Others claimed he had given ammunition to Lee during the battle of Antietam. There was another story that he had hidden

¹¹ Report of the Judge Advocate General on 'The Order of American Knights' Alias 'The Sons of Liberty': A Western Conspiracy in Aid of the Southern Rebellion, Washington, 1864. There are many letters in the Joseph Holt MSS, Library of Congress, commenting on the effectiveness of the report during the election.

¹² *New York Tribune*, October 3 and 4, 1864; *Chicago Tribune*, October 8, 1864; *Albany Evening Journal*, October 5, 1864; *Boston Daily Journal*, October 12 and 24, 1864; *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus), October 17, 1864; *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, August 24, September 9, 1864.

¹³ *The Crisis* (Columbus, Ohio), August 10, 1864; *Detroit Free Press*, August 2, 1864; *Chicago Times*, September 7, 1864; *New York World*, October 20, 1864; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 24, 1864; *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, October 16 and 20, 1864; *Madison Patriot* (Wisconsin), November 3, 1864.

¹⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, November 8 and 9, 1864; *Chicago Times*, November 8 and 9, 1864; Arthur Cole, *The Era of the Civil War*, Springfield, Ill., 1919, 310-311; William Zornow, "Confederate Raiders on Lake Erie: Their Propaganda Value in 1864," *Inland Seas*, V (Spring, 1949), (Summer, 1949), 101-105; I. Winslow Ayer, *The Great Northwestern Conspiracy in all its Startling Detail*, Chicago, 1865, 111-112.

away safely aboard a gunboat during the cannonading at Malvern Hill. In comparing McClellan to the Copperheads, Gerrit Smith noted, "It is true that their treason is more open and noisy than his, but his is nevertheless as real and earnest as theirs."¹⁵ Pendleton too came in for a share of venom. A pamphlet was prepared to acquaint the voters with the full range of his treason. "George H. Pendleton . . ." declared the document, "has persistently pursued in Congress that course most calculated to encourage the armed enemies of the country, and to foster secession and treason of all kinds and grades." Pendleton's career was set forth in the most damning light. He was labelled "The Great Dodger" because, the Unionists said, whenever a bill was being discussed or voted upon in Congress which would be beneficial to the union, Pendleton dodged into the cloakroom to avoid having to vote for it.¹⁶

What hurt the Democrats most in attempting to defend their party against the charge of treason was that many of their own men turned on them and joined the attack. The War-Democrats, who were campaigning for Lincoln, urged all loyal Democrats to support the president and to have nothing to do with the treason-ridden Democratic party.¹⁷ There were many Democrats in 1864 who were convinced that their party was tainted with treason and sought to entice their fellows away from supporting it. Their efforts culminated in a giant rally of War-Democrats in New York to protest the proceedings at Chicago and to repudiate them in the name of all loyal Democrats.

During the canvass the attack on the platform and the "war failure" plank was probably misdirected, for it assumed disloyal

¹⁵ Emile Bourlier to the Union League of Philadelphia, September (?), 1864, in Western Reserve Historical Society MSS; Smith, *Gerrit Smith*, 12; *New York Tribune*, August 30, 1864; *New York Times*, September 8, 1864; Benjamin F. Wade, *Facts for the People. Ben Wade on McClellan and Generals Hooker and Heintzelman's Testimony. A Crushing Review of Little Napoleon's Career*, Cincinnati, 1864; *Sights and Notes by a Looker-on in Vienna, Washington, 1864*; George Wilkes, "McClellan," *Who He Is and What He Has Done* and *Little Mac: "From Ball's Bluff to Antietam,"* New York, 1864. Lincoln apparently doubted McClellan's loyalty, too. Tyler Dennett, ed., *Abraham Lincoln in the Diary and Letters of John Hay*, New York, 1939, 218-219.

¹⁶ *George H. Pendleton: The Copperhead Candidate for Vice-President*, Washington, 1864; *Congressional Record of George H. Pendleton*, Philadelphia, 1864.

¹⁷ Morgan Dix, *Memoirs of John Adams Dix*, New York, 1883, II, 93; William Swinton, *The War for the Union from Fort Sumter to Atlanta*, n. d., n. p.; *Letters of Loyal Soldiers*, Loyal Publication Society No. 64, 4; *Ohio State Journal*, November 5, 1864; *New York Tribune*, November 2, 1864; *Harper's Weekly*, October 22, 1864; *Cleveland Daily Leader*, November 4 and 7, 1864.

intentions on the part of those who framed the document. Actually such was not the case, for even most of the strongest advocates of peace and an armistice wanted an ultimate convention to arrange a reunion of the states. The majority of the party stood with McClellan on a platform calling for a vigorous prosecution of the war and peace only after the South had accepted reunion.¹⁸

The attacks on the Democrats' convention and platform might have been indefensible, but the charges against McClellan and Pendleton reached the nadir of campaign strategy. In the long run, however, if one can believe Edward Bates, the denunciation of McClellan hurt the Unionists more than it aided them. Bates noted in his diary that "these charges of treachery and treason, not well established by proof, do but take off the edge from other accusations which cannot be defended, thus, discrediting the best founded objection against him, and exciting a popular sympathy for him as a persecuted man."¹⁹

The accusation of treason was the most decisive issue presented in the campaign by the Unionists. Thurlow Weed, who was undoubtedly a competent authority on judging the various factors involved in the campaign, wrote that "the disloyalty of the Democratic party . . . worked its own over-throw. Mr. Lincoln is to be re-elected (if at all) on the blunders and folly of his enemies."²⁰

More important than the fact that the treason issue was the most used and probably most decisive issue of the campaign of 1864 is the fact that the opprobrium of treason was to hang upon the Democratic party for twenty years. The "Great Conspiracy" of 1864 was the warp in the fabric of the bloody shirt. Daniel S. Dickinson, writing in August of 1864 when the spectre of domestic treason was beginning to stalk the canvass, said concerning the Democratic party, "Now it has the taint of disloyalty, which whether true or false will cling to it, like the poisoned shirt of Nessus, for a century."²¹ This proved to be a most prophetic observation.

While the Union party was succeeding so completely in fixing the stigma of treason upon its political opponents, the Democrats were hard pressed to uncover an issue which they could inject into

¹⁸ After the convention McClellan was offered the nomination, but he repudiated the platform and presented his own in his letter of acceptance.

¹⁹ Beale, *Diary of Edward Bates*, 423.

²⁰ Weed to John Bigelow, October 19, 1864, in John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life*, New York, 1909, II, 221-222.

²¹ Daniel Dickinson to Colonel Willard, August 15, 1864, in John R. Dickinson, *Speeches, Correspondence, etc., of the late Daniel S. Dickinson*, New York, 1867, II, 202-203.

the campaign to counteract these damning allegations. The whole campaign resulted in a general obscuring of issues. The voting public went to the polls in November with no clear issues before it. The false emphasis placed on the "war failure" plank beclouded the basic facts of the campaign. Actually, Lincoln and McClellan were agreed on nearly all fundamental points except emancipation. Had the Democrats won the election they would have been under the leadership of a man whose previous training, public utterances, and letter of acceptance made it clear that he would accept no peace with the Confederacy except on the basis of a prior recognition of the Union.²² This fact was reiterated by leading party spokesmen on innumerable occasions. In speaking of the Chicago convention, Seymour remarked, "I have seen much of political gatherings, but never before did I attend a convention so absorbed by one single idea—to save our Union and to save our country." Even Copperhead leader, Pendleton, insisted the party was pledged to "the restoration of peace on the basis of the Federal Union of the states."²³

Many Unionist editors knew the true situation and fearing that their readers might realize McClellan was committed to a restoration of the federal union, they hastened to add that the general would not really be the master of his party but would yield the sceptre to the copperheads. "The imbecility of McClellan will surrender it [the country] to the traitors' hands," said one Unionist. Another opined that neither McClellan nor the War-Democrats would "have any hand in shaping the policy of the party." but that would be done by Clement Vallandigham, the leader of the Copperheads who had written the war failure plank, who was "a southerner by birth and a traitor by profession."²⁴

The editors insisted the Copperheads were ready to destroy the union for the sake of peace. Here again they beclouded the facts of the campaign, for most of the Copperheads did not wish to see the union shattered. To be sure, there was a leaven of such wild fanatics within the Democratic party, but they were a decided minority. Though they clamored for peace, the majority of the Copperheads

²² George McClellan, *West Point Oration*, New York, 1864, 6.

²³ Thomas Cook and Thomas Knox, *Public Record . . . of Horatio Seymour*, New York, 1868, 241; George Comstock, *Speech Delivered in the Brooklyn Academy of Music*, New York, 1864, 2; Robert Winthrop, *Speech of Honorable R. C. Winthrop at the Great Ratification Meeting in Union Square*, New York, September 17, 1864, New York, 1864, 6-7.

²⁴ John Hamilton, *Coercion Completed or Treason Triumphant*, Loyal Publication Society No. 66, New York, 24; Charles Bristed, *The Cowards' Convention*, Loyal Publication Society, No. 68, New York, 3.

also stood for an armistice and an "eventual convention" of the states to discuss reunion. They may not have been able to achieve such a desire, especially after the fighting had been suspended, but that does not detract from the fact they sincerely believed the union could be restored only by an armistice and negotiation.

The voters in 1864 went to the polls with no clear conception of what the issues were before them. Since the war seemed to be drawing to a close during the last months before the election, it seems likely that the question of reconstruction should have entered as one of the principal issues of the campaign, but such was not the case. The prospect of having reconstruction introduced as an issue in the campaign was none too pleasant to the Unionists; it was a question which had already seriously weakened their party. "I most fear the rock on which we shall split will prove to be reconstruction," said one of Senator Morrill's correspondents as he voiced the fears of many.²⁵

The Union party was filled with many small springs of tension which threatened to become uncoiled at any moment. There was the ever present rivalry of the Radicals and Conservatives. Many of the former had grown suspicious of Lincoln's designs and were prone to condemn not only his moderate policies but his practice of rewarding many of his old Whig cronies and former Democrats. There was a faint stirring of nativism among the members who hated to see the party making concessions to foreigners.²⁶ Wisdom dictated putting the quietus on the reconstruction question, for these was no point in further aggravating a delicate situation.

A discreet silence was maintained by the Unionists for several months before their convention on the question of reconstruction, and at Baltimore no reference was made in the platform to this troublesome problem. The rallying cry was based on an appeal for all-out cooperation to win the war. There had been a few malcontents who sought to upset the delicate equilibrium by introducing the problem of reconstruction in the Cleveland platform.²⁷ It was

²⁵ S. Swiatt to Justin Morrill, June 2, 1864, in Morrill MSS, Library of Congress.

²⁶ Arthur C. Cole, "Lincoln and the Presidential Election of 1864," *Illinois State Historical Society Transactions*, Springfield, 1917, 136-137.

²⁷ When it became apparent that Lincoln's renomination could not be checked, a group of malcontents met at Cleveland on May 31 and nominated General John C. Frémont on a platform calling for immediate emancipation, an all-out prosecution of the war, and confiscations of rebel property. This movement later expired when Lincoln's popularity revived in September, and Frémont withdrew from the running.

fortunate, indeed, that circumstances prevented this movement assuming greater proportions otherwise the party might have divided.

The Democrats, who were aware that reconstruction was the Achilles' heel of the Union party, sought to bring it into the campaign as an issue in the hope, perhaps, that it would sunder the opposition. They took the view that the rebellious states were still within the Union and were embraced by the constitution. The president had no authority to make conditions not fixed by the constitution as a basis for their recognition as states. His only duty was to execute the laws and to subdue the armed power of the rebels. Whenever armed resistance ceased, the states would be restored without condition and without change.

They sought in every way to couple the Democracy with the forces of peace and reunion. They insisted, as was indicated before, that theirs was the true union party. It was their intention, they claimed, to restore the union under the old constitution. The Unionists, according to the Democratic version, were seeking to make the restoration of the union of secondary importance to the destruction of slavery.²⁸ They insisted that the Union party, which was seeking to reconstruct the Union on the basis of emancipation and vindictive measures, could never hope to achieve peace. Speaking of the autumn military victories, Seymour remarked,

These victories will only establish military governments in the South, to be upheld at the expense of Northern lives and treasure. They will bring no real peace, if they only introduce a system of wild theories, which will waste as war wastes; theories which will bring us to bankruptcy and ruin. The administration cannot give us union or peace after victories.²⁹

The Democrats not only claimed that their opponents were making peace and reunion impossible by insisting upon emancipation and other excessively severe conditions, but they also tried to show that by freeing the Negro they were sanctioning his equality and encouraging racial amalgamation.³⁰

²⁸ George McClellan, *Letter of Acceptance*, New York, 1864, 1; Joel Parker, *Speech . . . at Freehold, New Jersey, August 20, 1864*, New York, 1864, 4; Amasa Parker, *Speech of the Hon. Amasa Parker at the Cooper Institute, Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge*, (SDPK hereafter), New York, 1864, 6; Sanford Church, *Speech by Hon. Sanford E. Church at Batavia, October 13, 1863*, SDPK, 1864, 3; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 14, 1864.

²⁹ Cook and Knox, *Public Record of Seymour*, 253; *Hear Honorable George H. Pendleton*, New York, 1864, 5-8; Winthrop, *Speech*, 3-4; August Belmont, *Letters, Speeches, and Addresses of August Belmont*, n. p., 1900, 142-144.

³⁰ Sidney Kaplan, "The Miscegenation Issue in the Election of 1864," *The Journal of Negro History*, XXXIV (July, 1949) 274-343; *Cleveland*

Not only did they claim that reconstruction based on emancipation would prolong the war and make the Negro the equal of white men, but they also attacked Lincoln's moderate ten percent plan as an insidious scheme to perpetuate his administration in power.³¹

The Unionists consistently refused to join forces with the Democrats on the reconstruction issue, although the gauntlet was thrown to them on several occasions. The question loomed during the summer months within the Union party ranks. The conflict provoked over Lincoln's message to Congress in December 1863 concerning reconstruction, and his veto of the Wade-Davis Bill in July was serious, but the important point is that this deep seated conflict within the party was never allowed to become an issue in the campaign. Conditions in September forced even the wildest to renew their homage to Lincoln and the Radical Democratic party, which had been born at Cleveland and could have exploited the question, conveniently expired later that month.

The voter was never presented with a clear concept of the various modes of reconstruction. At least the campaign speeches, pamphlets, and newspapers gave him no enlightenment on this bothersome question. Since these three media were the average man's source of information on political questions it is safe to assume that the majority knew little or nothing of the various phases of the problem. Perhaps, he did not really care to know, for the war was yet to be won, and this was the voter's principal concern rather than the problem of a peace which was at least several months removed.

Since the issue of reconstruction was so vaguely presented on the national level by the Union party and was scarcely mentioned at all on the lower electoral levels, popular opinion on this matter could not have been else but confused. The voters did not have an opportunity to express an opinion on this point, since the issue was not clearly presented to them. It is inconceivable that the Radical

Plain Dealer, October 14, November 3, 1864; Hiram Ketchum, *General McClellan's Peninsular Campaign*, New York, 1864, 64; John Hopkins, *Bible View of Slavery*, SDPK, No. 8; Samuel F. B. Morse, *An Argument on the Ethical Position of Slavery and Its Relation to the Politics of the Day*, SDPK, No. 12; *Lincoln Catechism Wherein The Eccentricities and Beauties of Despotism Are Fully Set Forth*, New York, 1864, 27-28; Charles Mason, *The Election in Iowa*, SDPK, No. 11, and No. 6, *Emancipation and Its Results; Miscegenation Endorsed by the Republican Party*, New York, 1864.

³¹ Comstock, *Speech*, 6-7; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 15, 1864; *The Crisis*, October 26, 1864; *New York World*, October 26, 1864; *Address of the National Democratic Committee, The Perils of the Nation. Usurpations of the Administration in Maryland and Tennessee*, Washington, 1864, 3.

Republicans could later justify their program during Johnson's administration as the fruit of a popular mandate which they had been given in 1864.

This confusion did not apply to the question of emancipation, for the issue on this point was introduced on the nation, state, and local levels so consistently and so transparently that there was no doubt where the parties stood. In April the Senate had passed a resolution, which was destined to become the future thirteenth amendment, and sent it to the House. It was defeated here by sixty-five Democratic votes. Thus, emancipation became an issue in the campaign.³² By taking a stand squarely against emancipation by executive or congressional action the Democrats announced to the country that they were opposed to the contemplated thirteenth amendment which the Unionists demanded in their platform and which each slave state would have been peremptorily required to adopt.

All branches of the Union party, Moderate and Radical, were in agreement that the hated institution would have no place in the reconstructed union. Both the Baltimore and Cleveland conventions as well as the state and many county gatherings of the party made this clear in their resolutions. Slavery was the main support of the rebellion and had to be destroyed if peace was to be permanent, they said, as they scoffed at the Democratic contention that peace could be enduringly concluded simply on the basis of the old constitution. Even Lincoln, who throughout the canvass made no speeches, wrote a statement in which he maintained the war could not be won without the Negroes' help and this would not be forthcoming "with the express or implied understanding that upon the first convenient occasion they are to be re-enslaved."³³ The Unionists made it clear they intended to further the cause of emancipation and make it an integral part of their post-war program.

Since the issue was so clearly cut on this point, with the Democrats opposing and the Unionists sustaining the proposed amendment, it is conceivable that the latter party could regard its success at the polls as a mandate for such an amendment. The Unionists went

³² John B. McMaster, *A History of the United States during Lincoln's Administration*, New York, 1927, 507-508.

³³ Smith, *Gerrit Smith*, 9; Bristed, *Cowards' Convention*, 2-3; Charles Sumner, *The Works of Charles Sumner*, Boston, 1874-1883, IX, 79; William E. Barton, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Indianapolis, 1925, II, 299-300; *Peace to be Enduring Must Be Conquered*, New York, 1864, 1-4; *Biographical Sketch of Andrew Johnson*, Washington, 1864, 6-12; Washington Hunt, *Speech of Ex-Governor Hunt at Lockport*, SDPK, No. 14, 6.

no further, however, than to insist that emancipation would be a necessary part of reconstruction and peace. They carefully avoided references to the status of the Negro in the post-war society, for on this point there was no agreement among the segments of the party. Any popular mandate which might have been given by the voters would, consequently, extend only to the desirability of enacting such an amendment and was not to be construed as an expression of popular sentiment on the question of enfranchisement or equality.

The war weariness which manifested itself throughout the summer days because of the adverse war news from Virginia, provided the Democrats with a second issue which they sought to introduce into the canvass. This issue took a variety of forms: (1) the policies of the administration were such as to urge the South to greater resistance, (2) the administration would not make peace because the end of the war would mean its defeat at the polls, (3) Lincoln would not make peace because it would put an end to the war-time prosperity. The *World* claimed that Lincoln "would make no peace now even if he could dictate the terms. Peace and separation would ruin him with the North and prevent his election; peace and reunion would enable the South to participate in the Presidential election, which would be equally fatal to his prospects." Samuel Medary of *The Crisis* noted, "Mr. Lincoln may wish the end—peace and freedom—but he is wholly unwilling to use the means which can secure that end."³⁴

According to the Democrats this unnecessary prolongation of the war had many dire consequences for the country, and the blame for these ill effects was to be laid at Lincoln's door. The war was decreasing national wealth, said the Democrats, for the absence of more than one million boys in the army diminished the productive population by one fifth. The war has "already set back the country, as a whole, ten years in its progress, and . . . weakened us irreparably for future development," lamented *The Crisis*.³⁵

Another direct consequence of this prolongation of the war, according to the Democrats, was an enormous increase in the cost of goods. This was a point which every consumer in the North

³⁴ *New York World*, July 22, 1864; *The Crisis*, June 1, 22, 29, 1864; *Chicago Times*, January 8, March 16, 18, 1864; Comstock, *Speech*, 2; Belmont, *Letters, Speeches*, 142; Cook and Knox, *Public Record of Seymour*, 237-241; Edgar Cowan, *Speech of Honorable Edward Cowan of Pennsylvania in the Senate of the United States*, June 27, 1864, New York, 1864, 15-16; James Gallatin, *Address of Hon. J. Gallatin before the Democratic Union Association*, October 8, 1864, n. p., 1864.

³⁵ *The Crisis*, June 1, 1864.

could easily comprehend, for all had felt the pinch of war-time inflation. "If Mr. Lincoln's three years' misrule has run up the prices of coal to \$15; flour, \$16; butter, 60 cents; coffee, 60 cents; clothing to five times its former price—and everything that the people eat, drink, and wear, in a similar proportion—what will be their prices if Mr. Lincoln is reelected?"³⁶ wailed Medary.

Even more vehement were the denunciations heaped upon the president because of the increased national debt. The opposition press was quick to take advantage of the potentialities afforded by the increasing cost of the war and pointed out that such a course was leading to "utter bankruptcy and ruin." According to the Democrats, Lincoln's administration had increased the public debt by seven hundred million dollars, "more than the whole expense of the government from the Declaration of Independence to March 4, 1861." The writer asked the voters, "Can we afford such a President for four years more?" Democratic propaganda agencies printed for distribution two documents on the question of war debts; one reminded the public that Lincoln had spent more to defeat the South (which he had not yet done) than Europe spent to defeat Napoleon, and the other foolishly condemned him for not balancing the budget even in war-time.³⁷

The events of the late summer deprived the Democrats of every opportunity to capitalize upon the war weariness which swept the country earlier. The lassitude, the dissatisfaction with the war melted swiftly before the thundering guns of the victorious Union army. By September the North was stirring with life and enthusiasm for the cause; it quickened again at news of victory. The sacrifice, the sorrow had not been in vain, and all plunged with renewed spirit into the task of making victory secure. Time passed the Democrats by, and they found themselves trying to utilize a situation which ceased to exist after September 1. The futile conferences at Niagara and in Richmond also did much to dissipate the issues based on war weariness. All could see most clearly that sweet reasonableness was not to prevail against the South's desire to determine its own destiny. If reunion was to be achieved it could be done only as the Unionists claimed—by a military victory and by nothing else. McClellan,

³⁶ *Ibid.*; *New York World*, September 22, 1864.

³⁷ *The Crisis*, September 21, 1864; *New York World*, September 24, 1864; James Brooks, *Remarks of Mr. Brooks in the House of Representatives, March 7*, SDPK, No. 20; Thomas E. Kettell, *The History of the War Debt of England. The History of the War Debt of the United States, and the Two Compared*, SDPK, No. 17.

too, destroyed his party's power to capitalize on this issue when he repudiated the peace plank of the platform. He could offer nothing more than Lincoln; the war must go on for all possibility of a negotiated peace was past, and further talk on that point was useless.

Another issue which the Democrats sought to exploit most thoroughly was the question of civil liberties. Circumstances seemed to dictate the choice of this issue. There was a strong faction within the Union party which had protested to Lincoln's violations of civil liberties, and the Democrats probably hoped to aggravate this situation further by introducing the question into the canvass. It was also an accusation designed to place the Unionists in an embarrassing position, for there was no possible reply to the charges.

The central theme of the Democrats was that the repeated violations of civil liberties were undermining the constitution, and that if such practices were permitted to continue the entire pattern of American freedom would be permanently warped or, perhaps, lost forever. The fourth plank of their platform was a positive statement against "arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, trial and sentence of American citizens in states where civil law exists in full force."

As the issue of civil liberty was developed during the canvass it blossomed into something broader than a mere attack on Lincoln's arbitrary arrests. The Democrats rejected the confiscation acts and conscription, censured Lincoln for interfering with elections and for imposing test oaths upon the citizens of reconstructed states.³⁸ The Democrats also devoted much attention to Lincoln's interference with the freedom of the press. The unfortunate incident which came during the canvass when Lincoln's government suspended the publication of the *New York World* and the *Journal of Commerce* gave the Democrats much ammunition to explode during the summer.³⁹

The Democrats concentrated, however, on a denunciation of Lincoln's administration for the suspension of *habeas corpus* and arbitrary arrests. Probably about 38,000 persons were arrested during the war.⁴⁰ Much could be made of the cases of such prominent men as Clement Vallandigham, but the Democrats were more

³⁸ George Curtis, *Honorable George Ticknor Curtis on Constitutional Liberty*, New York, 1864, 1, 6; Parker, *Speech*, 2, 7; Comstock, *Speech*, 5; *Address of the National Democratic Committee on the Perils of the Nation*, New York, 1864, 1-2; Edward Hamilton, *A Republican's View of the Administration Policy*, Boston, 1864, 10.

³⁹ About two hundred papers were suppressed during the War, Manton Marble, *Freedom of the Press Wantonly Violated. Letter of Mr. Marble to President Lincoln*, SDPK, No. 22.

⁴⁰ James Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln*, New York, 1926, 152.

anxious to concentrate upon arousing the people over the plight of the thousands of anonymous persons who were spirited from their families by Lincoln's felons. Neither age, sex nor social position and profession protected people from the usurpations of the administration, said the Democrats. Lincoln was accused of arresting a thirteen year old boy. Stories were circulated of how clergymen were arrested at their altars, judges on their benches, and even some mourners were arrested in a funeral procession. Many of these unfortunate wretches, said the Democrats, went insane after being confined in groups of three in cells which measured a scant three by six feet.⁴¹

The Democrats hoped to make their greatest appeal to the voters on the civil liberties issue, but failed because they misjudged public reaction. John Sherman wrote to his brother that "all the clamor the Copperheads can make about personal liberty doesn't affect the people, if they can only see security and success. Bad precedents in time of war will easily be corrected by peace."⁴² The Union party had been seriously divided over the civil liberty question, but the regrouping of the party late in September served to quiet opposition to Lincoln on this point. Speakers, writers, and editors sought to justify his actions on the ground of military necessity. Their defense was, perhaps, a flimsy one, but when news of victory came at last the people were willing to overlook these violations in their enthusiasm at the approach of peace. It was Sherman's prediction coming true; the prospect of peace made them forget bad precedents of wartime.

The revelations of conspiracies and treasonable machinations in the Northwest could not have done else but convince many that Lincoln's government had acted for the public good. His methods may not have been in accord with the letter of the constitution, but they saved the country from foes without and within, and that is all the voters asked. Another point is that though Lincoln's government seized nearly 40,000 persons, his was no police state, the majority

⁴¹ *Mr. Lincoln's Arbitrary Arrests: The Acts Which the Baltimore Convention Approves*, New York, 1864; *Ovation at the Academy of Music. July 4, 1863*, SDPK, No. 7; *Reply to President Lincoln's Letter on June 12, 1863*, SDPK, No. 10; John Pugh, *Speech of Mr. Pugh to 50,000 Voters Who Nominated Vallandigham and Resolved to Elect Him Governor of Ohio*, SDPK, No. 9; Reverdy Johnson, *Reply of Hon. Reverdy Johnson to the Paper Which Judge Advocate Holt Furnished to the President, Urging General Porter's Condemnation*, n. p., n. d.

⁴² Rachael Thorndike, ed., *The Sherman Letters*, New York, 1894, 237; Jacob Cooper, *The Loyalty Demanded by the Present Crisis*, Philadelphia, 1864, 17.

were left to enjoy their liberties. While Democratic propagandists and speakers flayed the government for interfering with their rights, Lincoln made no effort to stop them. Such a situation must have given many voters reason to reflect upon the truth of the Democrats' assertions that Lincoln was a power-mad dictator bent on suppressing all opposition.

The Democrats were pointing up a very fundamental question which circumstances of the war served to obscure. They were right in their assertion that there was likelihood of permanent danger inherent in subverting constitutional guarantees. They raised objections to the doctrine of loyalty which "required [them] to acquiesce in silence in the judgment of the public servants as to what the public necessities require."⁴³ Without an ever vigilant minority, liberties long secured may be lost. Sherman proved to be correct and the Democrats were wrong; peace brought a reversal of bad tendencies, but it need not have happened that way. Given a different executive, a prolongation of hostilities or a weakening of American resources and institutions, and the Democrats' predictions could have proved to be true.

The Democrats replied to the attacks on McClellan by turning some heavy fire on Lincoln. They ridiculed his unpolished language, ungainly appearance, and lack of education. His habit of telling stories was vigorously denounced. A campaign story given wide circulation was that Lincoln, while riding over the battlefield of Antietam, requested Ward Lamon to sing a rollicking song about Benjamin Butler. The story was denied by Lamon in private letters, but Lincoln never permitted him to prepare a public statement on the episode.⁴⁴

Since the president was known among the people as "Honest Abe," it was only natural that this should also become a point of attack. The *World* explained, "It is in itself a suspicious thing to find the prefix 'Honest' attached to the name of anyone, the most obvious inference being that it is given in *badinage* to some person, whose habits are notoriously the reverse." The accusations of dishonesty reached into Lincoln's own household, and his son Robert was charged with accepting graft.⁴⁵

⁴³ George Curtis, *The True Conditions of American Loyalty*, SDPK, No. 5, p. 6.

⁴⁴ Paul Angle, ed., *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*, Boston, 1930, 356-359.

⁴⁵ *New York World*, September 22, 23, 1864; *Corruptions and Frauds of Lincoln's Administration*, New York, 1864, *Address of National Democratic Committee*, 3.

A host of miscellaneous accusations against Lincoln included charges that he was "reaching for the imperial purple . . . under the baseless and groundless pretence of military necessity," that he had perverted the war aims, that he was an atheist, and that he had prolonged the war by removing from command any general whose exploits threatened to overshadow him. They even said that while others were paid in depreciated greenbacks, Lincoln insisted upon receiving his salary in gold.⁴⁶

As was so often true during the canvass the Radical Republicans played into the hands of the Democratic propagandists by drawing similar indictments against their chief. If the Democrats complained that Lincoln had interfered with McClellan's campaigning on the peninsula, the Germans were equally vocal about his mistreatment of John C. Frémont. If the Democrats accused him of desiring to perpetuate his administration, of circumventing the constitution, and of dishonesty and incapacity, one need only read the Pomeroy Circular, the Wade-Davis Manifesto, Frémont's letter of acceptance of the Cleveland nomination, and Wendell Phillips' letter to that convention to find identical sentiments expressed. This fact was not lost upon the Democrats, and a pamphlet was distributed showing the voters the low opinions which many Republicans had of Lincoln.⁴⁷

The issues were joined by both parties with a vehemence seldom exceeded in an American presidential election. Stimulated by the war fever the canvassers exerted themselves to the utmost throughout the later days of the campaign. One of them later recalled:

Night and day, without cessation, young men like myself, in halls, upon street corners, and from cart-tails, were haranguing, pleading, sermonizing, orating, arguing, extolling our cause, and our candidate, and denouncing our opponents. A deal of oratory, elocution, rhetoric, declamation, and eloquence was hurled into the troubled air by speakers on both sides.⁴⁸

The campaign, unfortunately, decided no real question except which party was to rule for the next term, and it did not even conclusively settle this point. The National Union party, which won the election, soon began to disintegrate. Its many elements had been held together by a common desire to win the war, but

⁴⁶ Comstock, *Speech*, 3; *Harper's Weekly*, October 1, 1864; *Lincoln Catechism*, 1; *Lincoln's Treatment of Grant*. *Mr. Lincoln's Treatment of General McClellan. The Taint of Disunion*, New York, 1864.

⁴⁷ *Republican Opinions about Lincoln*, n. p., 1864.

⁴⁸ Abram Dittenhoefer, *How We Elected Lincoln*, New York, 1916, 87-88.

when it was over they began to separate. The Republican party began to reappear after the war, and it was the extreme element of this party which eventually gained control of affairs.⁴⁹ Once in the saddle after Lincoln's death these Radicals proclaimed themselves armed with a mandate to carry out a Carthaginian peace.

The question naturally arises as to whether or not there was such a mandate, and if so, how extensive was it? On the strength of the issues presented by both parties during the campaign one must conclude that no such all-inclusive mandate could have been given. The Union party won the election because it had a candidate whose popular appeal was, except for a few weeks in July and August, greater than any other man who could have been nominated by either party. The military victories achieved during the critical moment of the canvass revived whatever prestige the chief executive might have lost during the summer and proved to the voters that the war was drawing to a successful conclusion. The ill-timed war failure plank and the stupidity of the Democrats who permitted their ultras to become involved in activities of a seemingly treasonable nature, provided the Union party with its most effectively exploited and most decisive issue.

On the question of reconstruction the issue was so confused that there was no definite choice before the electorate. The Union platform is silent on this point, and the Democrats merely proclaimed that they favored a restoration of the union and the old constitution. Had the Democrats had their way possibly there would have been a battle over reconstruction, but the Unionists, for reasons already noted, refused to accept the challenge. The issue of civil liberties was important in the campaign, but the voters seemed to be unwilling to call Lincoln to account after it became apparent that the war was coming to an end. In the North there were no ill-effects of Lincoln's "usurpations," and the full liberties of the people were restored speedily after the war. The vicious assaults upon the character, intelligence, and integrity of the two rival candidates was regrettable and cruel, but they could hardly be construed as offering a popular mandate on any point. No other significant issues were introduced in the campaign.

The situation was further complicated by the fact that there was a general blurring of party lines on many of these issues. Many Unionists agreed with the Democrats on the issue of civil liberties

⁴⁹ William Dunning, "The Second Birth of the Republican Party," *The American Historical Review*, XVI (October, 1910), 63-65.

and shared their low opinion of Lincoln's character and denounced his dictatorial tendencies.

Both parties, however, did take positive stands on the emancipation question. The Democrats opposed emancipation by executive, congressional action, or by amendment because they believed it was lengthening the war and would have evil consequences for both races; the Unionists announced themselves favorable to a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. The voters were given a precise choice, so that a Union party victory did offer a mandate on this point.

Beyond the question of emancipation the voters were deciding merely on two personalities. It was Lincoln who had their affectionate support, and when it became apparent that his administration, despite defeats and mistakes, was leading the North to ultimate victory and that the Democracy was possibly a treasonable party, there was no question as to the final outcome.

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Taylor's American Voyage 1768-1769

When George Taylor went to Whitehaven in April, 1768, and heard an old sea-captain descant on the fine life beyond the seas, he made up his mind. He would go too. "In these critical times," he thought, "an Englishman might have a fine opportunity of settling to far greater advantage than at home." So he made inquiries for a passage; discovered that Ireland was a good jumping ground, and crossed the sea to Dublin. There he found a skipper called William Benton, master of the *Julian*, who was about to set sail with a cargo of fifty indentured servants.

The *Julian* was a 'kids-ship', no better and no worse than others which plied the trade. The indentured servants on some of these hulls were often not indentured at all, but kidnapped to satisfy the hungry labour market of the pioneer communities across the Atlantic. Twenty of the fifty indentured servants aboard the *Julian* were under a master, for they were no easy cargo to carry, being women of the streets, whose pilgrimage was a penance for past follies. Four days out of port, and Captain Benton ordered them to be secluded behind a bulkhead specially built by the ship's carpenter. But for the sailors, the bulkhead was no baulk. Not long after it was put up, a storm blew up, and all hands were piped on deck to pump ship. Bosun and Captain called in vain, and on investigation, the sailors were found in the ladies' quarters. The Captain went down with a rope end and laid about him. Taylor said: "he laid profusely upon the ladies, and drove them on deck; some with only a petticoat on, others more naked. He swore he would tie them all to the mainmast and wipe 'em down with a couple of dozens."

Taylor's only companion passenger was the dissolute son of a young Irish clergyman, who had been bought a commission in the British Army of North America. The two of them carried some provisions of their own, but for the crew and the fifty indentured servants, the normal ship's provisions served. And these provisions were extremely inadequate, especially as the storm washed away three coops of fowls, and a large pot of oatmeal mixture, which the crew called 'Burgoo' and ate for breakfast. So it is not surprising that when they had been only thirty-two days at sea, a rationing system was instituted. By contemporary standards it was generous:

each individual was allowed two pounds of bread, four pounds of meat and six quarts of water per week.

Worse was to come. That scale only lasted for seven days, and was immediately halved. As rations fell, tempers rose. "Some cursed their fate in coming as servants, others swore that the captain ought to be hanged at the yardarm for not bringing more provisions, or for keeping so many good things for himself," Taylor wrote. They began to hail other vessels, and once chased a sail for six hours, but to no avail. "They probably thought the *Julian* was a pirate," remarked Taylor ruefully.

So life grew more and more dismal, as the weather grew warmer and warmer. By June 24, 1768, they had been at sea for forty-six days, and the indentured servants could stand it no longer. In a body they assembled outside the captain's cabin, demanding to see what rations were available. They soon saw. For only by giving a daily ration of half a biscuit, and half a pint of stinking water, supplemented by two ounces of flesh a week, could the meagre stock be extended to cover three weeks.

Those three weeks saw the tension mount still higher. Before half of the days had passed, everyone was in a frightful state. Prolonged drinking of sea water drove many to near insanity. They rolled about the deck, tried to jump overboard, asked others to throw them into the sea, and cursed their unhappy lot. Not so Taylor. He lived insulated from discomfort with a bottle of claret under his pillows and another in his hammock. "I could now and then refresh unseen," he wrote. "I had a little sweet biscuit secreted between the lining of my waistcoat." Still he was as keen as the next man to find food. Looking over the side of the ship on July 4 he saw a shark, and called the captain. The captain, quick to respond, ordered two pounds of stinking beef to be baited to a hook and cast over the ship's side. However the meat was too bad even for the shark, which smelled it several times, but left it. "Had he been as hungry as we, he would have taken it without smelling," wrote Taylor bitterly. Nevertheless they played the line for an hour, Taylor holding it. Suddenly the shark took the bait. The line, which was attached to the mast, jerked taut, and nearly knocked Taylor overboard. As he slipped and lost his balance, his wallet fell into the sea, and all his money too. A sailor, hearing him cry out, jumped overboard, narrowly missed being mauled by a second shark, and recovered it.

But the rations, even when supplemented by shark, did not

last the three weeks. On July 15, their sixty-third day at sea, the captain was at his wits end and succumbed to the dreadful temptation. He gave orders that lots were to be cast as to who was to die. It fell upon a young girl called Ann Connor. When killed, she was found to be pregnant. Taylor could not bear it, and sent the cabin boy to decline his share. Three days later, a child was born to another woman, and the half crazed father came in great trouble to Taylor, who, after swearing him to secrecy, gave him half a bottle of claret, a pound of oatmeal biscuit, half a nutmeg, and some cinnamon. A second act of cannibalism followed five days later. Lots were cast, but just as they were about to draw, a sail was sighted.

This time, the sail did not turn and run. It proved to be a West-Indiaman, homeward bound. The captain gave the unhappy *Julian* three barrels of meat, some bread, a live pig, six geese, four ducks, four chickens and two puncheons of water, plus sixty gallons of rum. Taylor and the owner of the servants were the deputed negotiators, since William Benton dare'nt leave his ship. Taylor refused all offers of a return passage to England, and instead took away with him a box of sugar, two dozen sweet oranges, two pineapples, six cocoanuts, and a hundred limes. This windfall enabled them to restore a daily ration of half a biscuit, half a pint of water, a glass of rum and four ounces of flesh.

There followed another three weeks of mounting anxiety, varied only by the temporary alleviation of their miseries when they sighted a ship on the eighty-seventh day. But by August 25, it was once more found necessary to hold the grisly ballot, which this time fell upon a coachman who had become an indentured servant. The crew would have killed the captain, only his skill in navigating the ship stood between them and certain disaster. A plot was actually hatched, but the captain discovered it, and put the ringleaders in irons.

All were saved when they saw a fishing vessel, which told them they were near Nantucket. Taylor disembarked, and took up lodgings at the inn where Governor Barnard's representative was being so coldly received. This man left soon afterwards, and Taylor followed him.

* * * *

Taylor did not linger on the eastern seaboard for long. By way of Plymouth, Providence, and New Haven, he made his way to New York, where, with the contents of the wallet so bravely rescued

for him by the sailor in mid-Atlantic, he purchased a quantity of goods: blankets, rum, powder, ball, and women's trinkets. All were loaded up for the great trek to Montreal to catch the Indians at their great fair.

With five other Englishmen and two Indian interpreters, he set off on September 25. In the first two days they covered half of the four hundred and thirty-five mile journey, yet Taylor had time to notice the habit of collecting maple syrup from the trees, and, being a Sheffield man, to notice the peculiar axes required to do it. He also commented on the furs.

They reached Montreal after an eight day journey to find the town full of traders, some of whom had come over a thousand miles. Taylor noticed the discipline of the market, and commented on the Indians who, he wrote: "sit down on the ground in the streets in circular form, men, women, and children. They have rum in a keg, the bung of which they set to their mouths, and they do not set it down till it is empty." For a rum trader, he was curiously critical. Rum drinking, he commented "brings out a temporary madness, and as long as it continues, they are guilty of the most enormous excesses."

His greatest asset was his English nationality. Had he been Irish, he wrote, trade would have been impossible. "If an Englishman happens to affront an Indian at these times, the Indians call him an Irish rogue, imagining nothing can be so bad. He described Montreal as it existed in 1769: "the streets wide and commodious" but "the batteries of the citadel command them from one end to another." He stayed there till October 10, when he picked up a boat to take him down the St. Lawrence, while his four partners went back overland to Philadelphia, where he had arranged to meet them.

* * * *

Taylor had formed no favourable view of Canada. "The inns in this part of the country," he wrote, "charge you extravagantly and entertain you meanly." He travelled down to Quebec, where after a five days stay, he came to the conclusion that the cathedral was "large but clumsy, and makes a mean appearance." There he met with a Philadelphia trading ship that had brought a cargo of flour and rum to trade on the St. Lawrence, but finding such trade poor, was returning, hoping to dispose of the cargo on the way.

Taylor boarded it with his own cargo purchased at the Montreal fair. He went ashore both at St. Johns, and at Halifax, Nova Scotia,

where the captain managed to sell all his flour and rum. Ten days in Boston followed, and on November 26 he arrived in Philadelphia, five days after his partners.

He was enraptured with the place. "For its beauty and flourishing state it is not to be exceeded," he wrote, adding:

It is surprising to a stranger to see such a prodigious diversity of religions, nations and languages. In the city of Philadelphia you see Churchmen, Quakers, Lutherans, Calvinists, Moravians, Catholics, Menists, Methodists, Anabaptists, Independents and Dumpsters. These latter are a people that first came from Germany; they wear long beards, and a habit resembling friars.

He was much impressed by the predominance of other nations, and exclaimed: "How wonderful it is to observe the various sentiments of these people, who yet live in perfect union and tranquillity with one another." The trees, the pumps, the public buildings, the race course, the governor's house and other public buildings called forth his highest praise spread over ten pages of his diary. But, to a shrewd trader like himself, it was the market place which seemed to top them all:

Here is the finest market, perhaps in the whole universe; it is built of brick, supported by pillars of the same, extending a vast length, plentifully stacked with all kinds of provisions, both of flesh and vegetables [*sic*] with every other commodity. . . .

No game acts, nor Lords o' the manor here, but freedom reigns. The inhabitant enjoys the fruits of his labours in a plentiful manner without place-men, bribery, or corruption.

As he watched the Dutch wagon trains roll in to the number of 7,000 a week, bringing with them corn and pork and skins, and taking out products of Europe in the form of rum, sugar and molasses, he was brought to conclude: "This province is in a more growing condition than any other in British North America."

* * * *

Something of this trading spirit seems to have infected him, for after a three weeks stay in Philadelphia, he embarked for a trip into the interior himself. As usual, he chose to travel by sea, sailing via New Orleans and going up the Mississippi in a canoe—called by him a battoe—rowed by a number of hands. By January 19, 1769, he was at Illinois, much impressed by its potentialities:

What a pity it is he wrote that such a fine part of His Majesty's territory, is not inhabited by more of his subjects. . . . It only wants inhabitants to make this part of America the most fruitful and wealthy for trade and commerce; and it could not be excelled by any in this quarter of the world.

As he travelled in the country of the Illinois, he would present each savage with a glass of rum, then retire to their wigwams to trade. In this manner he covered the territory and that of the Cherokee and Choctaw, and ultimately arrived at Pensacola, whence, via Charlestown and Annapolis, he returned to Philadelphia on February 25.

Here he stayed. Philadelphia's bustle and promise agreed with him, and for four months he was so engrossed that his diary is empty. It is tempting to imagine the contacts he was making and the views he was forming, even though he did not settle, since the climate seemed to disagree with him. After medical advice he decided to return home, and so on June 29 he travelled overland to New York, there to board the *Countess of Donegall* for the voyage back to England.

His diary was published in 1771 at Nottingham by S. Creswell under the title: *A Voyage to North America, Performed by G. Taylor, of Sheffield, in the Years 1768 and 1769; with an Account of his Tedious Passage . . . Manner of Trading with the Indians . . . his Setting Sail from Philadelphia to New Orleans . . . and Other Matters Worthy of Notice. . .* The copy I have used was in the possession of Thomas Pearson, a Sheffield bookseller, who bought it in 1783. Taylor himself seems to have vanished into the comfortable limbo of obscurity on his return, and the only person discoverable bearing the name nine years later was a hosier of Snig Hill, and nineteen years later, a shoemaker in Sheffield. Yet Taylor's book, macabre as it was in detail, is the harbinger of an interest in America which was to become intense as the century closed. It is one of the first trade feelers from Sheffield, which by the next century was to grow into a golden bough of trade, bearing fruits to stimulate the industry of Sheffield to yet further exertions.*

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* Near Sheffield was the house of the Marquis of Rockingham (1730-1782) who was premier of a coalition ministry in 1765, and mortified George III by repealing the Stamp Act. Dismissed from office in 1766, he became leader of the whig opposition in the House of Lords, and a supporter of proposals to grant independence to the American colonies. Other Sheffielders who found a permanent home in America at the turn of this century were Joseph Gales and Robert Sutcliffe, for whom see *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVIII, 1951, 332-361; and *Pennsylvania History*, XVII, 192-205.

The Jesuits in Kentucky 1831-1846

When the Society of Jesus was restored to its pre-suppression status as a religious order by Pope Pius VII in 1814, there were a score of Jesuits in the United States. These men, like other Jesuits scattered over Europe and Russia, had been working as missionaries and teachers with unofficial papal consent, some even from the time of the suppression of the order in 1773. The superior of the Jesuits in America was John Anthony Grassi. Among the prelates who sought their services was Benedict Joseph Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown, who in 1815 appealed to Father Grassi for a group of Jesuits to work in Kentucky.¹ Owing to the scarcity of fathers in the post-Napoleonic period of reorganization, nothing could be done about Flaget's request.

In 1823 some of the Jesuits from Maryland established a mission in Missouri, and by 1829 founded St. Louis College in St. Louis. In 1828, Flaget began a continued campaign to secure Jesuits for his diocese, sending appeals to all possible quarters, and offering the Jesuits his College of St. Joseph's in Bardstown.² He received encouragement only from the Jesuit Provincial of France, Julian Druilhet, who wrote that he was forwarding the appeal, with his own approbation, to the Jesuit General in Rome.³ As the months passed without further word from France, the bishop put aside his

¹ Thomas J. Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, 4 volumes, New York, 1907-1917, Documents, Vol. I, Part II, 982.

² Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (hereinafter ARSI), "Notice sur l'établissement des PP Jesuites à Ste. Marie près de Bardstown dans le Kentucky, depuis son origine en 1832 jusqu'au mois d'août 1838." Unless otherwise cited, the letters used in the preparation of this paper are from the Archivum Romanum. Flaget wrote to Grassi, according to the above "Notice"; to Anthony Kohlmann, another former superior who like Grassi was in Italy; to Father John McElroy, S.J., for which see Bishop Flaget to McElroy, February 3, 1830, in the Woodstock Archives (hereinafter WA); to Father Francis Dzierosynski, S.J., superior of the Jesuits in Maryland, Dzierosynski to John Roothaan, S.J., May 9, 1830, Peter Dubuisson, S.J., to Roothaan, May 21, 1830. Flaget also wrote to get English Jesuits, WA, Flaget to McElroy, Feb. 3, 1830; and twice wrote to the Irish Jesuit Peter Kenney, who had been Visitor and superior of the American Jesuits, for which see Flaget to Kenney, Feb. 14, 1831 and Oct. 10, 1831, in the Archives of the Irish Province of the Society of Jesus (hereinafter AIP).

³ WA, Flaget to McElroy, Feb. 3, 1830.

cherished dream of Jesuit teachers at St. Joseph's and made arrangements to continue the school under the direction of his diocesan priests.⁴ Suddenly Flaget received a letter from New Orleans, informing him that a group of French Jesuits was there en route to Kentucky.⁵

The anti-clerical government of France had banned the Jesuits from the classroom in 1828 and the July revolution of 1830 expelled the Society of Jesus from France itself.⁶ Four of the exiles were instructed by the French Provincial to proceed to Kentucky. With Father Peter Chazelle as superior, Father Peter Ladavière, Father Nicholas Petit and Brother Philip Corne left Bordeaux on November 19, 1830, and disembarked at New Orleans on February 7, 1831.⁷

In those days, mid-winter was scarcely the time to travel up the Mississippi Valley. Bishop de Neckere of New Orleans consequently had little trouble in persuading the four Jesuits to remain in his diocese till the spring thaw. Chazelle passed the winter by giving retreats, Ladavière took over a priestless parish, and Petit preached the Lenten sermons in the Cathedral of New Orleans.⁸ Bishop de Neckere improved the time by trying to persuade the little band to remain in his diocese; like Flaget, he offered them a college. When the navigation of the Mississippi reopened, two of the Jesuits did remain with the Bishop of New Orleans, not because his proposals were too good to let slip, but because of the news from Bardstown. The Jesuits learned that while Flaget was still anxious to transfer St. Joseph's College to the Society of Jesus, the transaction could not be completed for several years to come. And they heard reports about the college which made them curious enough to look this gift horse very closely in the mouth. Consequently Chazelle left Ladavière and Corne in Louisiana to have, if necessary, a base on which to fall back.⁹ Accompanied only by Petit, he boarded a river steamer at New Orleans on April 23, 1831, and reached Bardstown on May 14.¹⁰

⁴ Francis P. Cassidy, *Catholic College Foundations in the United States*, Washington, D. C., 1924, 26-28.

⁵ Flaget to Druilhet, June 28, 1831.

⁶ Joseph Burnichon, *Histoire d'un Siècle*, 4 volumes, Paris, 1914-1922, I, 377 ff., and 528 ff.

⁷ Peter Chazelle, S.J., to Roothaan, July 30, 1831; ARSI, "Historia Collegii Kentuckiensis ad Stam. Mariam, 1928-jul. 1838." John Roothaan was General of the Society of Jesus during the entire period covered in this article.

⁸ ARSI, "Notice."

⁹ Chazelle to Roothaan, July 30, 1831.

¹⁰ Chazelle to Druilhet, June 17, 1831.

Flaget was unaffectedly glad to see the Jesuits in his diocese, but Chazelle was not happy to receive confirmation of the reports which he had heard about conditions in Bardstown. Some of the clergy were strongly opposed to the entrance of the Society of Jesus into Kentucky.¹¹ While Chazelle was pleased to receive a note of welcome from the reverend president of St. Joseph's, he was disturbed to note that the letter-writer had no idea of the purpose of the Jesuit coming. Nor was the superior happy about the news that he would have to wait some two years before the bishop would be in a position to give St. Joseph's College to the Jesuits.¹² When he inspected the school, he wondered whether it was worth waiting for. Its prospects were poor; its debts were bad; its discipline was worse.¹³ The reports which Chazelle sent to Europe were anything but favorable, and both the General and the French Provincial came to the conclusion that it would be pointless to leave the Jesuit missionary group in Kentucky.¹⁴ While waiting for a decision from Europe which was, as he expected, an order to return to Louisiana, Chazelle remained in Bardstown.¹⁵

However, before Chazelle received the letter containing his instructions to depart, another letter, which put an entirely different complexion on matters, was received by Bishop Flaget.¹⁶ It was written by a priest of the diocese of Bardstown, William Byrne. Byrne had been, for a short time, a Jesuit novice at Georgetown, but had withdrawn with none too favorable impressions of the Society. He opposed Jesuit control of St. Joseph's College, since he believed that if the Society took over and restored that school, it might very well hurt the registration of his own school. For Byrne was the owner, president and most of the faculty of St. Mary's Seminary, a boarding school which he had established a dozen years before on a farm about twenty miles from Bardstown.¹⁷ Towards the end of July 1831, however, Byrne wrote to Flaget, offering to turn over the school to him so that he could transfer it to the Society of Jesus.

¹¹ ARSI, "Notice."

¹² Flaget to Druilhet, June 28, 1831.

¹³ Chazelle to Roothaan, Aug. 24, 1831.

¹⁴ Druilhet to Roothaan, Nov. 12, Dec. 4, Dec. 9, 1831.

¹⁵ Fordham University Archives (hereinafter FA), "Diary of St. Mary's," Sept. 21, 1831.

¹⁶ ARSI, "Notice," "Historia Collegii." FA, "Diary," Sept. 21, 1831.

¹⁷ See Cassidy, *Catholic College Foundations*, 28-30, and Alphonsus Lesoucky, "Centenary of St. Mary's College," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, IV (1922), 154-171.

Chazelle and Petit made an inspection of St. Mary's. What they saw pleased them. The school, possessing a half-section of land, had two rather substantial brick buildings, one still under construction.¹⁸ Most of the supplies for the seminary table came from the school farm and the school herds.¹⁹ The pupils themselves supplied much of the labor on the farm, for the seminary followed the manual labor pattern common at the time. The teachers and the pupils were expected to contribute one day each week to farm work, a practice that the Jesuits continued for a time. Byrne's school was rather popular; his pupils, who averaged about fourteen years of age, numbered between fifty and seventy-five.²⁰

Chazelle sent the news of this unexpected development off to the Jesuit superiors in Europe.²¹ When instructions came to leave Kentucky, he delayed his departure until superiors could reconsider their decision on the basis of this new offer. He took up residence with Father Byrne at St. Mary's, where he spent the time studying English and teaching French.²² Petit established a base in Bardstown, where, between apostolic journeys through Kentucky and Indiana, he was to assist the local priests.²³ During the subsequent months, Chazelle sent to Europe a number of letters which manifested an increasing desire that the Jesuits forget about St. Joseph's College and accept the proffered gift of St. Mary's Seminary.²⁴ His wishes were finally fulfilled when, on July 7, 1832, the Jesuit General signed the letter authorizing him to take possession of St. Mary's.²⁵

When the decision to remain in Kentucky had been made, the Provincial of France assembled reinforcements for the new mission from his widely scattered flock. Three priests of the Province of Gaul—Vitalis Gilles in Switzerland, Thomas Legouais in Spain and Eugene Maguire in Italy—received their orders to go to Kentucky.²⁶ They arrived at St. Mary's just in time to help Chazelle celebrate

¹⁸ Chazelle was to increase the holdings to 550 acres. Chazelle to Roothaan, Jan. 26, 1835. Before the Jesuits left, they had added another four or five buildings. William H. Hill, "Reminiscences of St. Mary's College," *Woodstock Letters*, XX (1891), 30, 33.

¹⁹ Petit to Druilhet, Sept. 19, 1831, gives a full description of the school, down to the 18 cows, the 60 pigs and the 30 sheep.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, says there were fifty; Chazelle to Druilhet, Aug. 24, 1831, says there were seventy-five.

²¹ Chazelle to Roothaan, Aug. 24, 1831.

²² FA, "Diary," Sept. 21, 1831; Chazelle to Roothaan, Jan. 26, 1832.

²³ Chazelle to Roothaan, Jan. 29, 1833. Petit did not join the Jesuit community at St. Mary's till May 17, 1834; ARSI, "Historia."

²⁴ Druilhet to Roothaan, June 11, 1832, quotes from letters he received from Chazelle dated Jan. 26, Feb. 4, Feb. 25, and May 5, 1832.

²⁵ Roothaan to Chazelle, July 7, 1832.

²⁶ Maguire to Roothaan, Aug. 22, 1832.

the Christmas of 1832.²⁷ Before their coming the two Jesuits in Kentucky had received reinforcements from the ranks of the secular clergy of Bardstown. Two priests of French birth, Simon Fouché and Evremond Harissart, had applied to Chazelle, a few months after his entry into the diocese, for admission into the Society of Jesus.²⁸ Both were accepted. Evremond was sent at once to the Jesuit novitiate at Georgetown. Since he had commitments as a teacher in the diocesan seminary which would prevent his entry for a year, Fouché was unable to begin his noviceship till September, 1832, when he joined Chazelle at St. Mary's.²⁹ Only a few days before the arrival of the three priests from Europe, Evremond returned to St. Mary's to complete his noviceship there. Consequently, at the beginning of 1833, the Jesuit community at St. Mary's numbered six. On January 1, the regular order of time of a Jesuit community was inaugurated; on the following day, the members of the community received their teaching assignments in the seminary.³⁰ A new Jesuit school was formally in being.

With the new community lived Father William Byrne. He had judged that these French Jesuits, accustomed to the streets of Paris, would find it difficult to adapt themselves to the backwoods of Kentucky. He retained, then, the title of President of St. Mary's and remained to assist in the Jesuit's adjustment, to introduce them to the neighboring communities, to expound to them the mystery of the American boy, and to clear up the remaining debts of St. Mary's.³¹ Byrne planned to leave St. Mary's in the summer of 1833 to hew another St. Mary's out of the woods of Illinois.³² But he left the scene sooner than he had anticipated.

In the early summer of 1833 rumors of the approach of the dread Asiatic cholera were heard in Kentucky and were soon followed by the fearful plague itself. The priests at St. Mary's had their hands full attending to the sick and dying throughout the countryside. Byrne himself returned from a sick-call infected with the horrid disease and died within a few hours. Others at the seminary quickly caught the plague. Two of the pupils died of

²⁷ FA, "Diary," Dec. 22, 1832.

²⁸ Petit to Druilhet, Sept. 19, 1831.

²⁹ Chazelle to Roothaan, Jan. 29, 1833.

³⁰ FA, "Diary," Dec. 18, 1832, and Jan. 1-2, 1833.

³¹ Actually, Byrne did not liquidate the debts, which were paid off by the Jesuits. Chazelle to Roothaan, Jan. 26, 1835; Legouais to Roothaan, Jan. 27, 1836.

³² Druilhet to Roothaan, June 11, 1832.

it, and three priests took to their beds. Eugene Maguire left his bed only to be carried to a grave beside Byrne.³³

One of the consequences of Byrne's untimely death was that the title of St. Mary's Seminary was left in serious doubt. Byrne's affairs were in confusion. He had not turned over the title of the school, nor had he left a will.³⁴ Consequently a nephew of his instituted suit to get possession of the property.³⁵ For many months, Chazelle had to wait anxiously while the law pursued its slow course. Long after their benefactor's death, the Jesuits unexpectedly won their case, and the title of St. Mary's Seminary was legally vested in the Society of Jesus.³⁶

While young Byrne was pressing his law suit, Chazelle fortunately had no longer to contend with a dispute over jurisdiction within the Jesuit order. In the same month that Chazelle had sailed from Bordeaux, Peter Kenney had boarded ship for the United States, where he was, on the orders of the General, to fulfill the functions of Visitor and chief superior of the Jesuits in the United States. Kenney's instructions did not cover the situation arising from the planting of a new Jesuit colony in America. Fidelis de Grivel, a French Jesuit occupying the office of novice-master in the Jesuit mission of Maryland, wrote to advise Chazelle to clarify the status of the Kentucky Jesuits with Kenney. Chazelle did not think it necessary to heed the warning.³⁷ He may have regretted his negligence when he received a letter in which Kenney claimed jurisdiction over the Jesuits in Kentucky. This question of jurisdiction was only of domestic importance, but a great deal of ink was spread over a large quantity of paper, and the Provincial of France and the General in Rome had to be called in, before this irritating question was solved. It was established that the French Jesuits did not come under the rule of Kenney. Authority over the Kentucky Mission belonged to the Provincial of France.³⁸

³³ FA, "Diary," June 5-10, 1833.

³⁴ Legouais to Druilhet, July 22, 1833; Chazelle to Roothaan, Aug. 26, 1833.

³⁵ FA, "Diary," July 23, 1833; Chazelle to Roothaan, Aug. 24, 1834.

³⁶ Chazelle to Roothaan, Nov. 24, 1836, and Dec. 8, 1836.

³⁷ Grivel to Roothaan, Aug. 13, 1831, April 30, 1834.

³⁸ Kenney to Chazelle, Sept. 25, 1831, and April 20, 1832; Chazelle to Roothaan, May 29, 1832; Druilhet to Roothaan, June 11, 1832; Druilhet to Chazelle, May 21, 1832; Legouais to Druilhet, July 22, 1833; Chazelle to Roothaan, Feb. 24, 1834. In WA, Roothaan to Kenney, Dec. 20, 1831. In AIP, Kenney to Chazelle, Jan. 10, April 28, 1832; "Notes from letters of Father Chazelle," July 9, 1832.

Later, it was suggested that the Kentucky Mission be transferred to the immediate jurisdiction of the General, who rejected the proposal.

With the reopening of school in September 1833, St. Mary's Seminary was for the first time under full Jesuit control. In addition to his office as superior of the Jesuit mission in Kentucky, Chazelle now assumed the title and the functions of the rector of St. Mary's.

In preparation for autumn term advertisements were inserted in the Kentucky newspapers. These notices informed the public that the subjects taught included:

Latin, Greek, French, English Grammar, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Surveying, Bookkeeping, Geography with the use of the Globes, and all the common branches of education. To these, at the request of students, are added for next year—1st, Rhetoric, properly so termed; this being generally considered the completion of all studies; 2ndly, Hebrew; 3rdly, Spanish.

TERMS.

1st. For those who study the high branches during a session, which will consist of five and a half months, Board, Tuition, Washing, &c., (Bed and bedding excepted) in advance—\$32.00

2ndly. For those who do not study the high branches, also in advance—\$30.00.

3rdly. For day scholars or externs a session, from 6 to 12 dollars, according to the number and nature of the classes they attend. This likewise payable in advance.³⁹

St. Mary's Seminary would seem to have had a curriculum similar to most secondary schools of the time. Though "Rhetoric, properly so termed," was later added to the curriculum, there is no evidence that Hebrew was ever taught at St. Mary's. The fees charged were quite moderate. When St. Mary's became a college and the weekly work-day was abolished, the charges for board, tuition and washing, without bedding, were raised, first to ninety and then to a hundred dollars a year.⁴⁰

Francis Renault, S.J., to Roothaan, Feb. 3, 1835; Legouais to Roothaan, Jan. 27, 1837. Renault succeeded Druilhet as Provincial of France.

It was also proposed that the Kentucky Mission be joined to the Missouri Province. This actually was done with the French Jesuit mission in Louisiana. WA, William Murphy, S.J., to Dzierosynski, Sept. 12, 1840; Murphy to James Ryder, S.J., June 10, 1844. Murphy replaced Chazelle as superior of the Kentucky Mission in 1840. Ryder was Provincial of Maryland.

Another proposal was that, using the French Jesuits in Kentucky as the base, an independent Franco-American Province be created. August Thébaud, S.J., to Clement Boulanger, S.J., July 21, 1843; Murphy to Roothaan, July 10, Nov. 4, 1843, Feb. 27, 1844. Thébaud joined the Kentucky Mission in 1839. Boulanger was Provincial of France.

³⁹ ARSI, clipping dated Aug. 17, 1833, most probably from a Bardstown paper.

⁴⁰ FA, "Diary," June 21, 1836. FA, "Minutes of the Board of Trustees of St. Mary's College," July 10, 1837. Chazelle to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1838.

In recruiting students, the Jesuits did not confine their efforts to Kentucky. Advertisements were placed in the New Orleans papers, and even in the journals in Mexico City and Havana.⁴¹ These advertisements met with some measure of success. The college diary not infrequently notes that some student whom it had occasion to mention, came from Mississippi, Louisiana, or another Southern State. One day, it notes the entry into the college of a Spaniard, a Mexican, and a Cuban; another day, it remarks the arrival from Mexico of three new students.

Indeed, during their first years at St. Mary's, the Jesuits must have been consoled by the continued increase in registration. In February, 1834, there were at the seminary but a dozen day students and forty-five boarders. A year later, the school registers carried the names of twelve day-students and sixty-four boarders. Another year later, these numbers had increased respectively to twenty and eighty. Before the end of 1836, Chazelle could inform Roothaan that the number of boarding students had reached one hundred.⁴²

At the first meeting of the Board of Trustees of the newly incorporated St. Mary's College, the trustees found that the college had one hundred boarders.⁴³ In 1838, the total registration was one hundred twenty-seven, with one hundred two boarding students. This number, according to Chazelle made St. Mary's the largest college in Kentucky. In 1839, the registration was about the same—one hundred twenty-four students were on the roll.⁴⁴ In 1840, the school had the greatest number of pupils in its history as a Jesuit institution, one hundred forty-three, of which number one hundred twenty-five were boarders.⁴⁵

Thereafter the registration of the school went into a decline. The Jesuits at St. Mary's attributed the falling off to the continued effects of the panic of 1837, and to the competition of new schools and colleges in the Mid-West. The registration figures for all the years of the 1840's are not available. In 1841 there were but ninety pupils at the college.⁴⁶ The same number is given for the following

⁴¹ FA, "Diary," March 1, 1834, June 10 and June 17, 1835. WA, Murphy to Dzierosynski, Oct. 14, 1840, notes that the college had an agent in Cuba.

⁴² Chazelle to Roothaan, Feb. 24, 1834, Jan. 26, 1835, Nov. 24, 1836; Legouais to Roothaan, Jan. 27, 1836.

⁴³ FA, "Minutes," Jan. 27, 1837.

⁴⁴ Chazelle to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1838, and June 23, 1839.

⁴⁵ Murphy to Roothaan, June 19, 1840.

⁴⁶ FA, "Diary," June 1, 1840, Feb. 12, 1841.

year.⁴⁷ In 1846, the year the Jesuits relinquished the school, there were but two or three day pupils and seventy-five boarders.⁴⁸

A large proportion of the students at St. Mary's was not of the Catholic faith. There were occasional conversions, a fact that stirred up local Protestant ire. To avoid difficulties and the charge of proselytizing, the college authorities enacted a regulation prohibiting the baptism of any student, unless he had received the consent of his parents or was of full legal age.⁴⁹

In 1839, a new type of pupil entered St. Mary's. Besides its major seminary at Bardstown, the diocese had a minor seminary, named in honor of St. Thomas, a few miles outside the cathedral town. In August, 1839, Bishop Flaget closed this minor seminary. The Jesuits agreed to undertake the education of the pupils of St. Thomas Seminary and the diocese agreed to pay St. Mary's one hundred dollars a year for each of the young men. Consequently, towards the end of August, eight seminarians appeared at the doors of St. Mary's. The arrangement worked well. Indeed, when in 1841 the Jesuits planned a course in theology at St. Mary's for their few scholastics, the Fathers and the diocesan authorities agreed that the seminarians would also attend the lectures. Classes did in fact begin on September 10, 1841, with three Jesuit scholastics and four seminarians in attendance.⁵⁰

There had been reports that some of the secular clergy did not like the arrangement.⁵¹ Still the Jesuits must have been a bit put out when they read the letter addressed to them, eleven days after classes had begun, by Bishop Guy Chabrat, coadjutor of Bishop Flaget.⁵² Chabrat ordered his seminarians to leave St. Mary's immediately. The reason the coadjutor gave for this sudden action was that the diocese could not afford the fees charged by St. Mary's. How it would be cheaper to open and staff a seminary, possibly the bishop knew. At any event, the seminarians left the college.

⁴⁷ Legouais to Roothaan, March 6, 1842.

⁴⁸ John Baptist Hus, S.J., to Roothaan, Feb. 8, 1846. Hus had come to Kentucky from France in 1845.

⁴⁹ ARSI, "Notice." Georgetown University has in its archives a brief manuscript history of Fordham University by Thomas Campbell, S.J., who declares that, during the Jesuit period of St. Mary's, 675 pupils, of whom 361 were non-Catholics, attended the school. Unfortunately Campbell does not supply any references.

⁵⁰ Murphy to Roothaan, Sept. 21, 1839, June 19, 1840, and Oct. 10, 1840; FA, "Diary," Aug. 25, 1839, and Sept. 10, 1841.

⁵¹ Peter Lebreton, S.J., to Roothaan, June 21, 1841. Lebreton had come to St. Mary's from France in 1839.

⁵² FA, "Diary," Sept. 21, 1841; ARSI, Legouais to Roothaan, Jan. 3, 1843.

It was not to be expected that a handful of Jesuits could, besides their other works, staff fully the college and preparatory school at St. Mary's. In 1833-1834, a secular priest assisted them in the work of the classrooms. Throughout their years at St. Mary's, the Jesuits used the device of student-teachers. A number of the college students taught classes of the younger boys in exchange for their board and tuition. These student-teachers usually numbered seven or eight each year.⁵³

The number of Jesuits in Kentucky was never very large. Chazelle and Petit, it has been noted, were joined by two secular priests and three Jesuits from Europe in 1832. But the next group of reinforcements from France did not arrive till January, 1836.⁵⁴ Of this group, two brothers, Michael Jarry and Philip Ledorè, and one of the two priests, William Stack Murphy, remained in Kentucky. The fourth member of the group, Nicholas Point, was soon transferred to Louisiana, there to become the superior of a new Jesuit college.⁵⁵ The Province of France was to send other groups of Jesuits to North America, but these were slated to go either to Louisiana or to Canada, where in 1842 under the leadership of Peter Chazelle a new Jesuit mission was begun. Only one more group was to be assigned to Kentucky. In 1839, there arrived at St. Mary's two brothers, James Séné and Philip Constance, and two priests, August Thébaud and Peter Lebreton.⁵⁶

A number of recruits entered the Society of Jesus in Kentucky. In the early years, the new members were few. Apart from Fouché and Evremond and a lay brother who did not complete his noviceship, the catalogs of the Province of France list no novices in Kentucky. Beginning in 1839, at least one novice a year was admitted. The catalogs show that during their fifteen years in Kentucky the Jesuits accepted twenty novices, of whom six were priests, eight brothers, and six scholastics.⁵⁷ Of these, one priest and four brothers withdrew before the completion of their noviceship; fifteen took the vows of the order. Unhappily these records are not satisfactory

⁵³ FA, "Diary," Aug. 6, 1833, Oct. 5, 1834; ARSI, "Notice," "Historia domus, 1835-1836." See also *Catalogus Provinciae Franciae*, 1839, 21; 1840, 22; 1841, 24; 1842, 25.

⁵⁴ FA, "Diary," Jan. 12, 1836. Point to ? , Jan. 20, 1836.

⁵⁵ Chazelle to Roothaan, Dec. 15, 1836. For the story of this college, see Gilbert J. Garraghan, *Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 3 volumes, New York, 1938, III, 134 ff.

⁵⁶ FA, "Diary," Jan. 15, 1839.

⁵⁷ *Catalogus Provinciae Galliae*, 1831-1836; *Catalogus Provinciae Franciae*, 1837-1846. Other novices may have been admitted, but none remained long enough to be listed in the catalogs.

either as regards the numbers or the nationality of the novices. The Society of Jesus could not be considered naturalized in America until it had tapped an adequate source of native vocations. Kentucky did not provide enough vocations; indeed, it supplied practically none. Almost without exception, the novices were French or Irish; only one of the twenty novices was a native Kentuckian.⁵⁸ The Fathers believed that the failure of native Americans to become Jesuits was due to the major fault they noted among Americans, an excessive love of money.⁵⁹

With the passing of the years, the Jesuit faculty at St. Mary's Seminary added new courses of a higher grade to the school's curriculum. Finally, in the summer of 1836, they took the step of publishing a prospectus for the coming year which elevated the school to the rank of a college.⁶⁰ Though St. Mary's claimed the name, it was a college without a charter. The Jesuits had considered the feasibility of applying to the Kentucky authorities for incorporation. Nativist agitation in the state, however, was quite active. In Bardstown itself, a Presbyterian minister was publishing an anti-Catholic sheet which did not neglect the Jesuits at St. Mary's. Besides attacks on the school and its faculty, the journal reprinted that hoary old canard, the *Monita Secreta*.⁶¹ Consequently the fathers at St. Mary's deemed it prudent to put off their application for a charter to a more propitious day.⁶²

However, Marion County, in which St. Mary's was located, had as its representative in the State Legislature at Frankfort an Irishman named John Finn, who had no time for trivialities such as anti-Catholic bigots. Unknown to the Jesuits, he introduced a bill to charter the school as a university, and guided his project past parliamentary pitfalls till it was ready for its final reading. Only then did he notify the faculty of St. Mary's of what he had done, since he needed a representative of the Jesuits at the State capital.⁶³ That Finn had gauged the anti-Catholic sentiment of the times more accurately than the Jesuits is shown by the fact that the act of incorporation was passed unanimously by the lower house and with but one dissenting vote in the upper house. It was signed by the Governor of Kentucky on January 21, 1837. When the newly chartered

⁵⁸ Boulanger to Roothaan, May 24, 1846.

⁵⁹ ARSI, "Litterae Annuae," 1840-1841; Chazelle to Roothaan, Dec. 8, 1836.

⁶⁰ FA, "Diary," June 21, 1836.

⁶¹ FA, "Diary," July 31, 1836; ARSI, "Notice."

⁶² Chazelle to Roothaan, March 10, 1837.

college later held its first commencement, it was but fitting that its first honorary degree of Master of Arts should be granted to John Finn.⁶⁴

At the time when its charter was granted, St. Mary's merited the status of a college. During the school year of 1835-1836, it had appointed its first professor of philosophy. In the following year, two courses of Scholastic philosophy were added.⁶⁵ A few weeks after the charter was signed, the trustees of the new college met and officially appointed professors of mental philosophy, natural philosophy, the "dead languages," English, French, Spanish, physics, chemistry, mathematics, astronomy, geography, and drawing. Courses in economics, botany, geology and minerology were later added.⁶⁶

The institution was organized in three departments. The old seminary course was continued under the title of the preparatory course. On the completion of these preliminary studies, the students could choose either the classical course, or the commercial course. The latter was also known as the English course.

The classical department was a college of liberal arts, with the standard four-year course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. It required courses in the ancient Latin and Greek classics and in Scholastic philosophy. The commercial department made no such demands. The course took but three years, and apparently did not lead to a degree. Anticipating Harvard's Eliot by a generation, it had an elective system. The students were not compelled to follow a set curriculum, "but each one is free to attend the courses he chooses."⁶⁷

What proportion of students was in each of the three departments it is impossible to determine. It would appear that the smallest department was that of the liberal arts. Chazelle notes that in 1838 there was but one beginners' class in Latin, with eighteen students.⁶⁸ The number of degrees granted—and only Arts degrees were given—indicates a small enrollment in the liberal arts. Two degrees of Bachelor of Arts were granted in course in 1838, four in 1839, five in 1841 and again four in 1842.⁶⁹

⁶³ *Ibid.*; FA, "Diary," Dec. 21-23, 1836.

⁶⁴ ARSI, "Notice." FA, "Diary," July 27, 1838.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1835, and June 21, 1836.

⁶⁶ FA, "Minutes," Feb. 2, 1837. ARSI, "Litterae Annuae," 1837-1838.

⁶⁷ ARSI, "Notice." ARSI, "Litterae Annuae," 1837-1838.

⁶⁸ Chazelle to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1838.

⁶⁹ FA, "Diary," July 27, 1838; July 20, 1839; July 20, 1841; July 19, 1842. No record of degrees granted in other years has been seen.

While St. Mary's continued to be the center of Jesuit activity in Kentucky, other priestly works were not neglected. The fathers at the college served the neighboring parish of St. Charles, and weekly one or more priests left St. Mary's to assist the clergy in the nearby parishes over the week-ends. In the first days of the Kentucky Mission, Petit, on his extensive travels, had made some contacts with the remnants of the Indian tribes in the Ohio Valley.⁷⁰ Yet the Kentucky Jesuits never undertook the evangelization of the redmen for the very good reason, as the superior of the mission explained to the Jesuit General, that the nearest Indians lived 400 miles from St. Mary's.⁷¹

Soon after their arrival in Kentucky, the Jesuits began to give parish missions in Bardstown. This work was expanded to cover the towns and cities of the dioceses of Vincennes, Nashville and Cincinnati. Retreats were given to communities of nuns and to the clergymen of the area, and St. Mary's gave hospitality to those priests who wished to make their retreats there.⁷²

As Jesuit priestly activity fanned out from St. Mary's, there came from all over the Mid-West requests for colonies of the Society of Jesus. As early as 1839, Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati was asking for members of the Kentucky Mission to staff a college in his see city. Bishop Loras of Dubuque entered a similar request in 1841. The Dominican Bishop Miles of Nashville made the same appeal in 1843. Bishop Chanche of Natchez put in a request for a group in 1844, as did Bishop Byrne of Little Rock, while similar invitations arrived, in 1845, from the bishops of Pittsburgh and Charleston.⁷³

Now the earliest and most persistent requests came from the diocese of Vincennes. Scarcely had Bishop Simon Bruté de Remur taken over the rule of that see in 1834 when he was writing to the

⁷⁰ ARSI, "Notice."

⁷¹ Murphy to Roothaan, Oct. 10, 1840.

⁷² Chazelle to Roothaan, Dec. 8, 1836, Jan. 26, 1835, Nov. 24, 1836; ARSI, "Retreats given" . . . April-Nov. 1841; Petit to Achille Guidée, S.J., June 29, 1841; Murphy to Roothaan, Jan. 10, 1842; Guidée was Provincial of France. Murphy to Roothaan, Jan. 10, 1842; Gilles to Roothaan, Nov. 8, 1842; Chazelle to Roothaan, Nov. 24, 1836; Legouais to Roothaan, July 17, 1836; Murphy to Roothaan, June 19, 1840.

⁷³ WA, Murphy to Dzierosynski, Sept. 12, Oct. 14, 1840; ARSI, Boulanger to Roothaan, April 10, 1846; Bishop Loras to Roothaan, April 24, 1841; Murphy to Roothaan, Nov. 4, 1843; Bishop Chanche to Murphy, Jan. 21, 1844; Murphy to Roothaan, Feb. 27, 1844; Murphy to Roothaan, Feb. 16, 1844; Boulanger to Roothaan, April 11, 1845; Murphy to Roothaan, Aug. 10, 1845.

Jesuit General, Roothaan, for some of his subjects.⁷⁴ When his request was not granted by the General, the bishop appealed to the Cardinal Prefect of the Roman Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith.⁷⁵ But even the "Red Pope" was not able to secure from the "Black Pope" men he did not have.

On his apostolic rounds, Petit frequently ventured into Bruté's diocese. The bishop welcomed him; indeed, he tried to capture him for the diocese of Vincennes, as an auxiliary bishop. Not only did he get Bishop Blanc of New Orleans to write in support of his project, but Bruté himself appealed to the General, to the Prefect of Propaganda and to the Pope himself. When he finally acknowledged that his campaign had failed, the irrepressible bishop appealed to the General to open a Jesuit college at South Bend, Indiana.⁷⁶

Bruté's successor, Clement de la Hailandière, at first followed in Bruté's footsteps. Soon after his accession in 1839 to the see of Vincennes, he was asking for a Jesuit college at Indianapolis. Not only did he send numerous appeals to the Jesuit superior in Kentucky, but he sent his vicar general to press the petitions in person.⁷⁷ When the college was refused, de la Hailandière also sought to get a Kentucky Jesuit—this time, John Larkin—as his auxiliary bishop.⁷⁸ When, however, a number of priests of his diocese attempted to abandon their parishes in order to become members of the Society, de la Hailandière's feelings towards the Jesuits underwent a radical change. Thereafter, he would have no Jesuits in his diocese.⁷⁹

In 1839, Chazelle unfolded to Bishop Flaget a plan to further the development of the Church in Kentucky and the Mid-West. The first element of Chazelle's plan was to transfer the seat of the Kentucky diocese from the little village of Bardstown to the flourishing city of Louisville. The second part of the plan was the establishment in Louisville of a regional seminary which would educate all the secular clergy of the Mid-West. The Jesuits, who

⁷⁴ Bishop Bruté to Roothaan, Dec. 13, 1834; Flaget to Kohlmann, Jan. 3, 1835.

⁷⁵ Cardinal Mai to Roothaan, June 15, 1835.

⁷⁶ Bishop Blanc to Roothaan, April ?, 1838; Bruté to Roothaan, Dec. 4, 1837, Feb. 24, 1838, May 28, 1839.

⁷⁷ Murphy to Roothaan, June 29, 1841, and Jan. 10, 1842.

⁷⁸ Gilles to Roothaan, Nov. 8, 1842. Larkin had left his position as professor in the seminary in Montreal to join the Society of Jesus in Kentucky in 1840.

⁷⁹ Murphy to Roothaan, July 9, 1844; James Van de Velde, S.J., to Roothaan, Dec. 8, 1845, March 16, 1846. Van de Velde, of the Missouri Province, was later bishop of Chicago and of Natchez.

were to staff the seminary, were also to open a college for lay students on the seminary campus.⁸⁰

Chazelle's idea found ready supporters. The Provincial of France instructed the Kentucky Jesuits to agree to staff the seminary.⁸¹ Bishop Flaget labored to bring the plan to fruition. He printed and sent to his friends in Europe a letter begging for funds to assist the proposed regional seminary.⁸² When the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore convened in May, 1840, Flaget, who had brought Chazelle along as his theologian, was present to propose the plan. Though the bishops of the Council approved the transfer of the see to Louisville, they failed to give their sanction to the regional seminary. Flaget and Chabrat, undiscouraged by the failure to secure the Council's approval, continued to push the plan for the seminary. Indeed, they insisted that Chazelle, who had been replaced in the summer of 1840 as superior of the Kentucky Mission and rector of St. Mary's by William Stack Murphy, should go to Europe to explain and defend the proposal in the proper quarters.⁸³

Chazelle consequently left Kentucky before the end of 1840, and was in Rome by April of the following year.⁸⁴ There he wrote and submitted to the Jesuit General, and probably to others, a "Note sur l'établissement de Louisville, Kentucky," and "Une Semaine dans l'Ouest des Etats-Unis."⁸⁵

In spite of the efforts of Flaget and Chazelle, the plan for the seminary failed to gain adequate support. Possibly the Jesuit General and others were impressed by the fact that a number of the Kentucky Jesuits did not consider the proposal practicable.⁸⁶ By the beginning of 1842, Murphy could report that the plan for the regional seminary was a thing of the past.⁸⁷ Then the Kentucky bishops, frustrated in their desires for the seminary, demanded that the Jesuits at least open a college in Louisville. In anticipation of the establishment of the seminary, the bishops had secured property in a suburb of Louisville; this land was offered to the

⁸⁰ ARSI, "Note sur l'établissement de Louisville, Kentucky" and "Une Semaine dans l'Ouest des Etats-Unis."

⁸¹ Guidée to Roothaan, Nov. 10, 1840.

⁸² ARSI contains a copy of this letter.

⁸³ Chazelle to Roothaan, July 3, 1840; Murphy to Roothaan, Dec. 22, 1840. Chazelle to Roothaan, March 21, 1842.

⁸⁴ Murphy to Roothaan, Dec. 22, 1840.

⁸⁵ These memoranda, in the ARSI, were written by Chazelle in Rome about April 1841.

⁸⁶ Murphy to Roothaan, June 19, Oct. 10, Dec. 22, 1840; Lebreton to Roothaan, June 21, 1841.

⁸⁷ Murphy to Roothaan, Jan. 10, 1842.

Jesuits as the site of their school, for the Jesuits were practically compelled to undertake a Louisville school.⁸⁸ The initiative of Chazelle had been seconded by the bishops. Now it would appear that the Jesuits were reniging. Chazelle himself was not sent back to Kentucky; instead, he was commissioned to establish a new Jesuit mission in Canada. Flaget consequently wrote several letters of complaint to Roothaan, lamenting that both the seminary and Chazelle had vanished, and the diocese had been left in the lurch and in debt. He continued to urge the opening of a Jesuit school in Louisville.⁸⁹

Chazelle wrote from Paris to the General to warn against such a step.⁹⁰ He pointed out that there were not sufficient funds to establish the school properly, and he questioned the wisdom of setting up a Jesuit house in the shadow of the troublesome coadjutor Chabrat. Chazelle's warning came too late. In the first month of 1842, the Jesuit superior in Kentucky agreed to undertake the conduct of the school.⁹¹

Since the suburban site offered by the bishops was not suitable for a day school, the land there was not accepted by the Jesuits. Instead, in April 1842, a house in Louisville proper was rented at a cost of two hundred dollars a year. Though the plan was to develop a boarding college, the school was announced to the public as a classical academy for boys between the ages of ten and fourteen. The tuition charges were set as forty dollars a year. The curriculum was typical of the academies of the time—Latin, Greek, French, German, mathematics, geography, history, and elocution.⁹²

On May 2, 1842, the St. Ignatius Literary Institution opened its doors. It had only a skeleton staff and a skeleton student body. Evremond as superior, and Larkin, who was to rule the school from Evremond's withdrawal in July, 1843, till the closing of the institution, were aided by a student Jesuit, or scholastic. The students were seven boys, as large a number as could be expected in the last months of the school year.⁹³

⁸⁸ Murphy to Roothaan, Oct. 10, 1840; WA, Murphy to Dzierszynski, Oct. 14, 1840; Flaget to Roothaan, July 31, 1842; Murphy to Roothaan, Jan. 10, 1842; Chazelle to Roothaan, March 31, 1842.

⁸⁹ Flaget to Roothaan, June ?, July 31, 1842; Larkin to Roothaan, Jan. 4, 1843, Feb. 19, 1844; Flaget to Gilles, March 29, 1845.

⁹⁰ Chazelle to Roothaan, March 31, 1842.

⁹¹ FA, "Diary," Jan. 30, 1842. Legouais to Roothaan, March 6, 1842.

⁹² Legouais to Roothaan, April 11, 1842. Garraghan, *Jesuits of the Middle United States*, III, 256, notes a newspaper account of the school which declares that the institution also featured a preparatory class for boys under ten, whose fees were \$30 a year; Larkin to Roothaan, Jan. 4, 1843.

⁹³ FA, "Diary," May 2, 1842; Evremond to Roothaan, July 14, 1842.

Gradually the staff and the enrollment increased. In its last year, the school was manned by three priests, five scholastics and two brothers. At the end of 1842, the number of pupils had mounted to twenty-nine. Six months later, there were thirty-eight. In February 1844, the registration was seventy-two, and in February 1845, eighty. While the increase in the registration must have been gratifying to the Fathers, they were not altogether happy about the student body. An appreciable number of the boys were not Catholics. Other students could not afford to pay the tuition charges; consequently the income of the school was uncertain and insufficient.⁹⁴

Yet it would appear that the Louisville school was to have a successful future. The Fathers had to move the school from its original quarters to a larger house in the city, and they began to plan the construction of a suitable school building.⁹⁵ Then from an unexpected quarter they ran into obstacles which shortly forced them to close the Literary Institution. These were precisely the men who had compelled the Jesuits to open the school, Bishops Flaget and Chabrat.

In 1843, Flaget celebrated his eightieth birthday. In their letters to Rome, the Kentucky Jesuits frequently noted that the pious man was old, feeble and forgetful, he was incapable of conducting business, and he was completely dominated by his coadjutor, who was the *de facto* head of the diocese.⁹⁶ It was an open secret in ecclesiastical circles that Bishop Guy Chabrat had no use for the Jesuits. Indeed, he would declare to all who would listen that it was an evil day for the Church in Kentucky when the Society of Jesus entered that State.⁹⁷

A major bone of contention between the Louisville Jesuits and the bishops was St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, the original cause of the Jesuits' coming. The college was the apple of Flaget's eye. The old bishop clung obstinately to the idea that it would flourish if only the Jesuits would take charge. He never gave up the hope that they would one day reverse their continual refusals to accept the gift of St. Joseph's.

For Flaget's offers of the college, and the Jesuits' refusals, be-

⁹⁴ *Catalogus Provinciae Franciae*, 1846, 41; Evremond to Roothaan, Jan. 2-3, 1843; Evremond to Roothaan, July 24, 1843; Larkin to Roothaan, Feb. 19, 1844; Larkin to Roothaan, Feb. 13, 1845; Evremond to Roothaan, Jan. 2-3, 1843; Larkin to Roothaan, Jan. 4, 1843.

⁹⁵ FA, "Diary," Aug. 31, 1843.

⁹⁶ Murphy to Roothaan, April 3, 1845; Boulanger to Roothaan, Nov. 9, 1845, Feb. 6, 1846.

⁹⁷ Evremond to Roothaan, July 24, 1843; Hus to Roothaan, Feb. 8, 1846.

came almost annual affairs. The bishop offered St. Joseph's to the Society of 1834, 1835, 1838, 1839, 1842, 1843, and 1844.⁹⁸ Later in 1844, St. Joseph's was again offered to the Jesuits, this time not directly by the bishop, but by a group of lay Catholics of Bardstown.⁹⁹ These men were almost as persistent at Flaget himself. Refused by the local Jesuit superior, they sent petitions directly to the Provincial in Paris and the General in Rome. Nor did they accept the first refusal from these quarters; they sent a second petition after the first.¹⁰⁰ Flaget himself returned to the charge in 1845.¹⁰¹ One of the reasons which moved the General to send a Visitor to the Kentucky Mission was to refuse, once and for all and finally, the college of St. Joseph's.¹⁰²

Shortly after the Jesuits had begun their school in Louisville at his own insistence, the old bishop conceived the idea that the St. Ignatius Literary Institution was a threat to his beloved St. Joseph's. He feared that when it became a boarding college, the Louisville school would draw students away from the Bardstown college. The more successful the Louisville school became, and the more Jesuits it consequently required, the less likely it was that the Society would have men to spare to accept St. Joseph's. Fearful for the school of his predilection, the octogenarian bishop began openly to oppose the Louisville school. Indeed, he explicitly declared his enmity to the Jesuit superior of the school.¹⁰³ So well known were his feelings that a rumor to the effect that Flaget intended to suppress the Literary Institution gained credence, and a group of Louisville laymen actually approached the bishop with a petition that he would not harm the school.¹⁰⁴

In spite of the known hostility of Flaget, the Jesuits took steps to develop the school. Land was purchased as a permanent campus, and the construction of the new school building was actually be-

⁹⁸ Flaget to Roothaan, Jan. 5, 1834; Flaget to Kohlmann, April 21, 1835; FA, "Diary," Jan. 10, 1835; Flaget to Roothaan, April 21, July 21, 1838; ARSI, "Note sur l'établissement"; Murphy to Roothaan, Jan. 10, 1842; Flaget to Roothaan, June ?, July 31, 1842; Legouais to Roothaan, Jan. 3, 1843; Petit to Roothaan, Jan. 6, 1843; Murphy to Roothaan, Jan. 10, 1843; Murphy to Roothaan, Feb. 27, 1844.

⁹⁹ FA, "Diary," May 11, 1844.

¹⁰⁰ Petitioners of Bardstown to Roothaan, Aug. 28, 1844; Petitioners to Roothaan, Dec. 1, 1844.

¹⁰¹ Flaget to Gilles, March 29, 1845.

¹⁰² Boulanger to Roothaan, June 28, 1845. Jesuits of the Missouri Province finally accepted St. Joseph's from Flaget in 1848, after Chabrat had left the country. In 1868, these Jesuits withdrew from Kentucky.

¹⁰³ Larkin to Roothaan, Feb. 19, 1844.

¹⁰⁴ Murphy to Roothaan, Dec. 30, 1844.

gun.¹⁰⁵ To help meet the heavy expenses, a public subscription was opened. Though the appeal for contributions was initially successful, this source of financial aid abruptly dried up.¹⁰⁶ Neither Flaget nor Chabrat would sponsor the appeal. Flaget refused even to discuss the matter.¹⁰⁷ Chabrat went much further. The General was informed that, soon after the Jesuits opened their subscription lists, the coadjutor bishop launched a campaign to collect funds for the erection of a cathedral. He announced his appeal in a sermon from the pulpit of the pro-cathedral, during the course of which he practically told the Catholics of Louisville not to contribute to the Jesuit cause. The Fathers had no choice but to close their subscription lists. As soon as the coadjutor heard that the Jesuits had ended their drive, he stopped his own.¹⁰⁸

Not only did Chabrat effectively block local financial aid to the Jesuits, but it appears that he did his best to cut off subsidies from Europe. The Kentucky Jesuits heard that the coadjutor had reported to the French Society of the Propagation of the Faith that the Society of Jesus in Kentucky was wealthy, needed no financial assistance, and was not doing any worth-while work.¹⁰⁹

Under these circumstances, it was obviously impossible for the Jesuits to remain in Louisville. On the first day of 1846, the bishops were notified that the Society of Jesus was closing its school and withdrawing from the city. The citizens of the town petitioned the fathers to remain, and offered to subscribe additional sums to the school. The money already contributed was returned to the donors. Before the end of February, without the slightest regret expressed by the bishops, the Jesuit community had withdrawn from Louisville.¹¹⁰

This withdrawal was but the first step in the abandonment of Kentucky by the Jesuits. A desire to leave the State had been growing among the Fathers there in the 1840's. This development was noticed by the Provincial of France, Clement Boulanger, who touched upon this theme in a number of letters to John Roothaan.

¹⁰⁵ Larkin to Roothaan, Feb. 13, 1845; Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846.

¹⁰⁶ Larkin to Roothaan, Feb. 13, 1845; Larkin to Roothaan, Feb. 22, 1846.

¹⁰⁷ Murphy to Roothaan, April 3, 1845.

¹⁰⁸ Hus to Roothaan, Feb. 8, 1846; Larkin to Roothaan, Feb. 22, 1846.

¹⁰⁹ Driscoll to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846.

¹¹⁰ Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846; Legouais to Roothaan, Feb. 5, 1846; Larkin to Roothaan, Feb. 22, 1846; Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846; Hus to Roothaan, Feb. 8, 1846; Legouais to Roothaan, Feb. 5, 1846; Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, March 1, 1846.

The reasons why the Jesuits wanted to get out of Kentucky, the Provincial informed the General, were many. They felt they were confined in a blind alley. They were frustrated by the lack of opportunities for worth-while work. There was no promising field of labor open to them in nearby states. Their debts were increasing. There were no vocations from native Catholics. The Louisville school had, at most, a questionable future. The major college of St. Mary's was buried in the backwoods, far even from a main road. It could not hope to develop; indeed, its registration was declining; and the Society of Jesus was the object of increasing hostility from the episcopal residence in Louisville. Under the circumstances, it would appear proper that the General should send to the Kentucky mission a Visitor with full powers to dispose of the mission as seemed best. Boulanger suggested such a move, and the Kentucky Fathers expected it.¹¹¹

In the spring of 1845, on the completion of his term of office as provincial, Boulanger himself was appointed to visit Kentucky by the General. Together with his socius, John Baptist Hus, Boulanger left Paris in April, 1845, and arrived at St. Mary's on June 11, 1845.¹¹²

Even before his coming to Kentucky, Boulanger was of the opinion that it might be best if the Society withdrew completely from that State. For a new prospect had been opened before the French Jesuits in America, a field which would require their full manpower in the United States. Bishop John Hughes of New York offered to them a promising field of labor in his diocese. Chief among the works offered was the bishop's college of St. John in the little village of Fordham, a few miles north of New York City. While he was still provincial of France, Boulanger had considered the possibility of withdrawing men from Kentucky to staff New York.¹¹³

What he saw in Kentucky hardened the Visitor's inclination into determination. When he had inspected the mission, he informed Roothaan that it was his considered judgment that the Kentucky Mission should be liquidated. He found the Jesuit position in Kentucky untenable due to episcopal opposition. He agreed with

¹¹¹ Murphy to Roothaan, Feb. 27, 1844; Boulanger to Roothaan, March 2, Oct. 11, 1843, Feb. 2, April 13, 1844; Boulanger to Roothaan, March 2, Oct. 11, 1843, Feb. 2, 1844; Evremond to Roothaan, Oct. 14, 1844; Murphy to Roothaan, Dec. 30, 1844.

¹¹² Boulanger to Roothaan, April 11, and June 14, 1845.

¹¹³ Boulanger to Roothaan, Sept. 6, 1843.

the Kentucky Fathers that the schools at Louisville and St. Mary's were not worth the men and the money they consumed. All of the men in Kentucky would be required to staff the establishments which the Society would undertake in New York, for Boulanger had visited New York and signed an agreement with Bishop Hughes before the end of 1845.¹¹⁴

Consequently, a month after the bishops had been told that the Jesuits were withdrawing from Louisville, and before that movement had been completed, Boulanger informed Bishop Flaget that the Society of Jesus was withdrawing from his diocese.¹¹⁵ He told the bishop, so Boulanger informed Roothaan, that the Jesuits would transfer the title of St. Mary's to the diocesan authorities; they hoped that they would receive some recompense for the large sums of money they had expended at St. Mary's for improvement and construction.¹¹⁶

Flaget offered no objections to the closing of the Jesuit college at St. Mary's. Obviously hoping that the fathers would continue to operate the school as a feeder for St. Joseph's College, he expressed the desire that the fathers remain to staff the preparatory department. Boulanger rejected the request.¹¹⁷

The news of the imminent departure of the Jesuits soon spread abroad. The bishops publicly expressed their regrets over the removal. Some of the rather harassed Jesuits attributed the bishops' declarations to fear of public opinion rather than to any real sorrow.¹¹⁸ They took umbrage at the fact that, even before Flaget's request that the Jesuits remain at St. Mary's reached them, Chabrat had practically concluded negotiations with another religious order to replace them at the school.¹¹⁹ Nor were their feelings soothed by the report that the coadjutor, on hearing that the Jesuits might remain, expressed his dissatisfaction and his fears that just such a develop-

¹¹⁴ Boulanger to Roothaan, Sept. 21, Oct. 20, 1845; Boulanger to Roothaan, Nov. 9, 1845; Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846; Legouais to Roothaan, Feb. 5, 1846; Driscoll to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846; Hus to Roothaan, Feb. 8, 1846; Boulanger to Roothaan, Nov. 25, Dec. 17, 1845.

¹¹⁵ Boulanger to Flaget, Feb. 7, 1846.

¹¹⁶ Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846.

¹¹⁷ Boulanger to Flaget, Feb. 15, and Feb. 26, 1846; Boulanger to Roothaan, March 1, 1846.

¹¹⁸ Driscoll to Roothaan, March 7, 1846; Boulanger to Roothaan, April 10, 1846.

¹¹⁹ Boulanger to Flaget, April 1, 1846; Boulanger to Roothaan, April 27, 1846.

ment might take place.¹²⁰ Nor were relations ameliorated when, without consultation or even forewarning, the Jesuits were presented, for their signature, a deed of sale for St. Mary's College at a purely nominal sum.¹²¹ From the college they salvaged only some laboratory equipment, their books and their chalices.¹²²

In this rather unpleasant atmosphere, the Jesuits continued their preparations for departure. In mid-February the school in Louisville had been closed, the foundation of the new college building and the land on which it stood sold, and the members of the Louisville community moved to St. Mary's. By March 1, except for Larkin who remained behind to wind up affairs, the Jesuits had completed their removal from the see city.¹²³

At St. Mary's, the land purchased by Chazelle was sold; the money received from this sale was enough to pay off the debts remaining on the college.¹²⁴ The parents of the students were informed that the Jesuits would conduct classes only till the close of the school year. But while these preparations for departure went on, there arrived from Paris a letter which gave Boulanger pause. Ambrose Rubillon, who had succeeded Boulanger as Provincial to France, informed the Visitor that the General felt uneasy about the total abandonment of Kentucky, and urged Boulanger to take steps to preserve at least part of the Kentucky mission.¹²⁵

Believing that matters had progressed too far to be reversed, Boulanger suggested to the fathers in Kentucky that they send their considered judgment on the withdrawal to the General in Rome. This they did, unanimously approving the Visitor's decision to abandon the mission.¹²⁶ Their letters crossed in the mails one from Roothaan himself, written on January 15, 1846, but delivered only at the beginning of March, in which the General refused his approval to the complete abandonment of Kentucky.¹²⁷ Again, the Visitor asked the Kentucky fathers to write to the General; and again they

¹²⁰ Boulanger to Roothaan, April 10, May 24, 1846.

¹²¹ Boulanger to Roothaan, March 27, April 10, 1846.

¹²² Boulanger to Roothaan, April 10, 1846.

¹²³ Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846; Boulanger to Roothaan, March 1, 1846.

¹²⁴ Boulanger to Roothaan, Nov. 9, 1845; Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846.

¹²⁵ Rubillon to Roothaan, Dec. 31, 1845.

¹²⁶ Boulanger to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846; Legouais to Roothaan, Feb. 5, 1846; Driscoll to Roothaan, Feb. 6, 1846; Hus to Roothaan, Feb. 8, 1846.

¹²⁷ Boulanger to Roothaan, Sept. 3, 1846.

gave their approval to the decision which had been made.¹²⁸ When the General noted the unanimous vote of the fathers on the scene for the abandonment of Kentucky, and was informed that the Kentucky bishops took no steps to keep the Society in the State, he gave his approval to the ending of the mission.¹²⁹

Indeed, no objection to the departure of the Jesuits was made by the bishops.¹³⁰ Yet Chabrat did not let slip the opportunity to write to France his version of events; his account clearly did not present the Jesuit desertion of Kentucky in too favorable a light. For on his return to France early in 1846, Hus was compelled to write the Jesuit version of the story and send copies to the Nuncio in Paris and the offices of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith.¹³¹

Public opinion laid the onus for the withdrawal of the Jesuits from Kentucky on the shoulders of Bishop Chabrat.¹³² The vehemence and depth of public censure may have been the cause which prompted the coadjutor to submit his resignation to the Holy See and also to the forthcoming Sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore.¹³³ Boulanger reported, however, that Chabrat had arranged matters so that his resignation would not be accepted, and he returned happily from Baltimore, obviously feeling that the rejection of his resignation had justified all his actions.¹³⁴ Shortly after the Jesuits left Kentucky, Chabrat's resignation, ostensibly because of his failing eyesight, was to be accepted. He lived for many years in retirement in France.

As the summer of 1846 began, the exodus of the Jesuits from Kentucky got under way. Murphy and Thébaud left in April to prepare the way at Fordham for the arrival of the main contingent.¹³⁵ Shortly after the school year ended in July, the Jesuits, in parties of five or six, took their departure from the scene of their labors in

¹²⁸ Boulanger to Roothaan, March 7, 1846; Thébaud to Roothaan, March 5, 1846; Driscoll to Roothaan, March 7, 1846; Ryan to Roothaan, March 8, 1846.

¹²⁹ Hus to Roothaan, April 27, 1846; Boulanger to Roothaan, May 24, Sept. 3, 1846.

¹³⁰ Thébaud to Roothaan, May 15, 1846.

¹³¹ Hus to Roothaan, April 27, 1846.

¹³² Benjamin J. Webb, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, Louisville, 1884, 398; Cassidy, *Catholic College Foundations*, 30; Hill, "Reminiscences of St. Mary's," 37. It is the tendency of published secondary works to exculpate Chabrat of the charge.

¹³³ Legouais to Roothaan, March 9, 1846.

¹³⁴ Boulanger to Roothaan, May 24, June 7, 1846.

¹³⁵ Thébaud to Roothaan, May 15, 1846.

Kentucky.¹³⁶ Boulanger himself was one of a group who reached Fordham on August 1.¹³⁷ By that time, save for two priests who remained to wind up affairs, all the Jesuits were out of the blue-grass State. The Kentucky Mission of the Province of France was at an end.

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¹³⁶ Boulanger to Roothaan, June 7, 1846.

¹³⁷ Boulanger to Roothaan, Aug. 1, 1846.

Book Review

So Noble a Captain. The Life and Times of Ferdinand Magellan. By Charles McKew Parr. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1953. Pp. xv, 423. Illustrated. \$6.

Magellan has come down to us as one of the great names in the history of maritime exploration, but to those who have studied his career in some detail there have been and there will be many unanswered questions about his activities. The man who captained the first expedition to circumnavigate the globe had his Boswell in Antonio Francesco Pigafetta and since the time of Pigafetta, 1525, this "So noble a captain" has had a succession of biographers. The latest of these is Charles McKew Parr, industrialist, business executive, and Connecticut legislator, whose background, from his earlier days at West Point through his governmental services during World War II at Washington and in Spain as a diplomatic agent, reveals his vast energy. During the past ten years he has made the time to gather a remarkable store of materials for this defense of the slighted and maligned character of Magellan and he presents his materials in a graceful, colorful and vigorous style.

Structurally *So Noble a Captain* is divided into three parts and these total twenty chapters, introduced by thirty pages on "Portugal and the Magellans." The introduction indicates the attitude and the approach of Mr. Parr. His attitude is aggressively to adopt one of the authorities or sources for his narrative without too much concern about other parties to controversies, choosing what he considers the most probable of the opinions. His approach is biographical, that is, within his biography of Magellan he presents a series of biographical sketches of persons around whom he weaves history of the time. In these procedures the historian naturally comes upon some jarring interpretations and is somewhat at a loss for verifications, since there are no footnotes. For instance, the foundation of the Portuguese empire is attributed to Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt, rather than to John of Avis, her royal consort, and the conquest of Ceuta along with Henry the Navigator's activities in Africa are attributed to Philippa. Prince Henry, and later Columbus, is said to be a monk.

Part I describes, in the absence of much data about Magellan, the times in which the hero was born, raised, made a page in the court in 1492, and disliked at the age of twelve by King Manuel. The descriptions of ships, seas, sailors, trade, and court intrigues, are excellent and prepare the way for Magellan's trip south along Africa and around the Cape of Good Hope to India with Francisco de Almeida. The very colorful and highly adventurous times of the conquest of India between 1505 and 1513 are well told, even though from the viewpoint of Magellan rather than that of the more outstanding conquerors and tradesmen. After eight years in the Orient Magellan was ordered home—wounded, practically penniless, and generally not wanted in Lisbon.

"Princes, Prelates, and Profits," is the title of Part II. King Manuel's hatred of Magellan is dramatically portrayed; Jakob Fugger, the banker of the empire and the kingmaker, is described in a chapter; his agent, Cristobal De Haro, is worthy of the next chapter; the description of "Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop, Bureaucrat and Businessman," is a devastating attack on the man to whom Mr. Parr attributes all such powers and philosophies of evil as would make a Richelieu insignificant, and the attack is sustained through future pages and even into an appendix. Fonseca is credited with making Charles ruler of Spain, with making and breaking Columbus, killing Cardinal Ximenes either by a notice of dismissal from the court or by poison, and running the growing Spanish empire to his own enormous gain. Fugger, de Haro, the king, all in the political game of Fonseca, were the key men of the great expedition of Magellan.

The third part is the narrative of Magellan's voyage with all its drama and heartbreak. The descriptions of seafaring in the sixteenth century are again very good. In fact, the book has great entertainment as well as informational value. The bibliography is selective and a number of appendices add a quota of data. The index is done with exceptional care. It may be said that there are digressions and because of these an unnecessary delay in the action of the drama, but these are amply explained by the coverage in the title, "life and times." Uninterested readers may pass them over and forget them but they cannot forget the character of Magellan as drawn so understandingly by Mr. Parr.

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Notes and Comments

An excellent study of one of the foremost historians of colonial Mexico has been made by Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., who is currently doing research in the archives of Rome. It was published in the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, Volume XXII, Jan.-June., 1953, under the title: "Francisco Javier Alegre, Historian of the Jesuits in New Spain (1729-1788)." Father Burrus begins the seventy pages of his study with a biographical sketch of Alegre, then turns to the key sources which Alegre used in writing his *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España* and his *Memorias*. Next is a collection of opinions of other historians regarding the value of Alegre, all of whom rank him as an outstanding authority and scholar. These pages are followed by a section on the "historical principles observed by Alegre," very clear proof of his objectivity and thoroughness. After this Father Burrus devotes a number of pages to tracing the exact sources for the *Historia* and concludes with a index of all the authorities cited in its composition. An appendix is a chronological list of the forty-one titles under Alegre's authorship, published and in manuscript. Some selected documents of a pertinent nature conclude the article.

In this same volume of the *Archivum Historicum* there are a number of articles, commentaries on St. Francis Xavier and upon the Japanese, Chinese, Indian, Indonesian, Philippine, Brazilian, and Spanish American missions, all in commemoration of the quatri-centennial of the death of Xavier in 1552. Twenty scholars have contributed the studies in Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, German, Chinese, and English. Of particular interest are C. R. Barker's edition of Galiote Pereira's *Tratado* under the title of "A Portuguese Account of South China in 1549-1552," and the most unusual text of an opera in Chinese, presented from 1608 to 1610, in the article "La Passione di Gesù Cristo in un'Opera Cinese del 1608-1610," by Pasquale M. D'Elia. The whole volume of the *Archivum* runs to 547 pages filled with documents, illustrations, and bibliographies.

* * * *

The entire August, 1953, number of *The Palimpsest*, published by The State Historical Society of Iowa, is given to the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Iowa. The six articles are by Right

Reverend M. M. Hoffman, author of *The Church Founders of the Northwest*, and they are entitled: "Iowa's Early Catholic History," "The First Bishop of Iowa, 1837-1858," "Bishop Smyth, 1858-1865," "The Diocesan Pattern in Iowa," "Catholic Institutions," and "Iowa Catholicism Today." A number of good illustrations and a cover map add to the attractiveness of the magazine.

* * * *

Most Reverend Anthony J. Schuler, S.J., D.D., First Bishop of El Paso, And Some Catholic Activities in the Diocese Between 1915-1942, by Sister M. Lilliana Owens, S.L., Ph.D., has been published by the Revista Catolica Press, El Paso, Texas, 1953. This is another of the books whose purpose would be rather mystifying if the author had not stated it in a Foreword, to-wit: "The present study does not pretend to cover completely the period under study much less to evaluate with any historical finality the person of Bishop A. J. Schuler, S.J., nor the Catholic Activities mentioned. It is rather an appreciation of the good accomplished by Bishop Schuler during his incumbency; and the history of the institutions and persons connected, even remotely, with the Catholic activities in El Paso, . . . is given as a tribute to them. . . ."

* * * *

Puritan Sage, Collected Writings of Jonathan Edwards, edited by Vergilius Ferm, is this month being published by Library Publishers, New York, as a commemorative volume marking the 250th anniversary of the birth of Edwards. Several of the twenty-seven treatises presented are on natural sciences and philosophy, but the majority of them are theological expositions. The editor's introduction has some biographical data, but is primarily an appreciative evaluation of the significance of Edwards as an American pioneer in theological education and psychology. The volume with the appendices runs to six-hundred forty pages and is listed at seven fifty.

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MID-AMERICA

VOLUME XXXV

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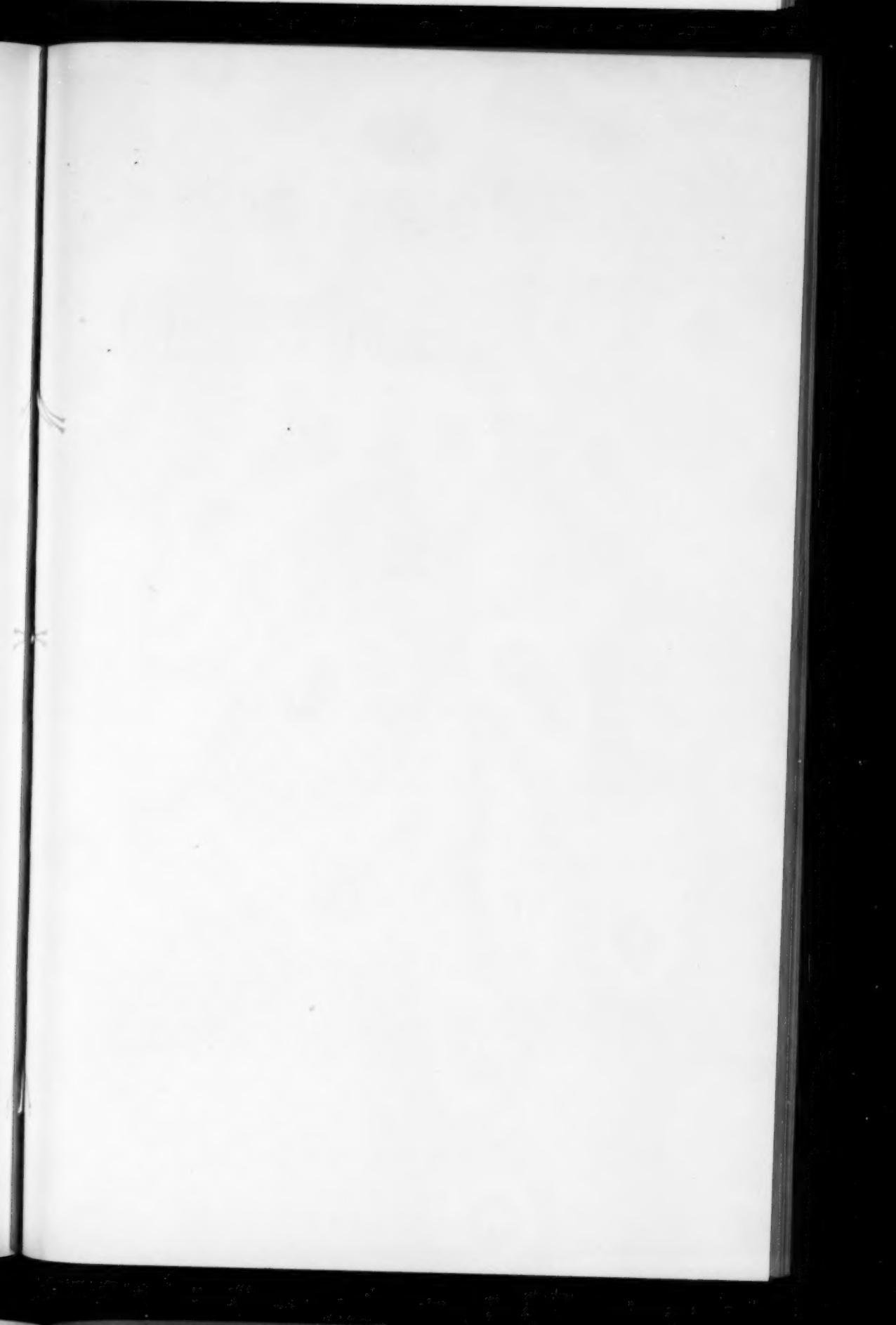
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Errata: Page 65, line 18, delete the "not" and read: "of California and is supposed to have discovered (what here—)"

Page 66, line 4, delete the "not" ending the line and read: "But it does make California a peninsula."





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